

A grammar of Woi:  
An Austronesian language of Yapen Island,  
Western New Guinea

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Except where otherwise acknowledged, this thesis is entirely my own work.

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A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Yusuf Willem Sawaki', with a horizontal line under the 'u' in 'Sawaki'.

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Although we are in different boats you in your boat and we in our canoe  
we share the same river of life

*(Chief Oren Lyons, Onandaga Nation)*

Kitong dua hanya ketemu, baku sayang, sebentar saja, tapi tong dua pu kenangan untuk  
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*(The author)*

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## **Abstract**

This thesis is a description of Woi, an Austronesian language of the South Halmahera-West New Guinea group, spoken on Yapen Island, Western New Guinea. The language is spoken by approximately 3,000 people in three main villages: Woi, Woinap and Yenuari, and others scattered around cities in West Papua.

The areas of grammar covered in this thesis are phonology (chapter 2), word classes (chapter 3), noun phrases (chapter 4), possession and possessive constructions (chapter 5), verbal morphology (chapter 6), the clause (chapter 7), grammatical relations (chapter 8), valence, valency changing derivations, and related constructions (chapter 9), serial verb constructions (chapter 10), complex clauses (chapter 11), topic and focus constructions (chapter 12), and deictics and spatial orientation (chapter 13).

Woi has five basic vowels, thirteen diphthongs and sixteen consonants. Consonant clusters are restricted and occur across syllables. Stress is not phonemic. Morpho-phonological processes include metathesis, vowel deletion, palatalization, vowel merger, vowel retention, fortition, lenition, nasal assimilation and consonant insertion.

The language is a left-headed language in which most of the modifiers are post-nominal and the head noun is to the right of the NPs, except the possessive modifier. The basic clause structure is SVO-OBL, in which the order is fixed. Insertion is not allowed within the basic clause structure. Object alternation is not allowed. Peripheral elements such as locative and temporal adjuncts occur outside the basic clause structure, following the oblique argument.

The morphology of the verb is simple, consisting of the obligatory prefixed-subject marker and the applicative marker. The object clitic is syntactically determined. Morphological realization of the subject marker varies depending on the phonological



shapes of verb stems, vowel-initial or consonant-initial verb stems. The realization can be as a prefix or infix. The verb types include action verbs, derived verbs, and verbs with possessive morphology.

Wooi is a nominative-accusative language. S/A are identical, as opposed to O/P. Oblique has its own marking. The grammatical relations are determined by linear word order, categorical expression, agreement marking and behavioural properties.

Wooi distinguishes direct and indirect possessive constructions. In direct possessive constructions, the possessor attaches directly to the possessed noun. In indirect possessive constructions, the possessor attaches to the possessive marker, not directly to the possessed noun. There are also two other possessive types, namely, mixed type and N-N juxtaposition type, but these are more restricted.

Serial verb constructions are distinguished based on their formal and semantic properties. SVCs in Wooi are considered as a monocause consisting of two (or more) verbs in sequence. The two types of SVCs in Wooi are true SVCs and pseudo SVCs. They are mostly distinguished based on argument realisation and argument sharing.

Topic and focus constructions are triggered by pragmatic requirements. Topic can be marked by NPs, pronouns and person marking/pronominal copy. Focus can be marked by NPs and focus markers, especially in contrastive focus. There are different markings for verbal focus and non-verbal focus.

Deictics and spatial orientation are very complex in Wooi. There are three types of deictics in Wooi – deictic adverbs, demonstrative modifiers and demonstrative pronouns. They distinguish proximate, neutral, distal1 and distal2 orientation. The deictics have basic locative orientation but they can also be extended to temporal orientation. Spatial orientation consists of the topological types; which have stative locative verbs, the frame of reference types, which consist of intrinsic frame of

reference, relative and absolute frame of references; and the motion types, which consist of motion verbs and directional prepositions.

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## Abbreviations and glossing conventions

### Abbreviations used in the glosses

1	First person
2	Second person
3	Third person
ABTR	Ambitransitive
A	Agent
Adj	Adjective
ADJ	Adjunct
APPL	Applicative
ARG	Argument
C	Consonant
CD	Consonant diphthong
COM	Comitative
COMP	Complement
COP	Copula
COMPR	Comparative
D	Diphthong
DEI	Deictic
DEM	Demonstrative
DEOBJ	De-object
DET/Det	Determiner
DF	Discourse Function
DIST	Distal
DIR	Directional
DOWN	Down direction
DU	Dual
EXC	Exclusive
EXIST	Existential
FILL	Filler
FOC	Focus
G	Goal
GR	Grammatical relation
IMPRV	Imperfective
INC	Inclusive
INDEF	Indefinite
INJ	Interjection
INS	Instrument
INTR	Intransitive
IRR	Irrealis
LIG	Ligature
LOC	Locative
MULT	Multiple
N	Noun
NEG	Negative marker
NEU	Neutral



NOM	Nominal
NP	Noun phrase
NPART	Negative Particle
NSG	Non-singular
NUM	Numeral
OBJ/O	Object
OBL	Oblique
P	Patient
PP	Prepositional phrase
PART	Particle
PERF	Perfect
PERI	Periphery
PL	Plural
PN	Proper name
POSS	Possessive
PRED	Predicate
PREF	Prefix
PRO	Pronoun
PROH	Prohibitive
PRX	Proximate
PSR	Possessor
PSS	Possessee
Q	Question
QUANT	Quantifier
R	Recipient
RC	Relative clause
RED	Reduplication
REL	Relative marker
REAL	Realised
REAS	Reason
REFL	Reflexive
SG	Singular
SUBJ/S	Subject
SUF	Suffix
SUP	Superlative
SVO	Subject-Verb-Object
Syll	Syllable
T	Theme
TEMP	Temporal
TR	Transitive
TOP	Topic
UP	Upward
V	Vowel
VBLZ	Verbalizer

# Chapter 1 - Introduction

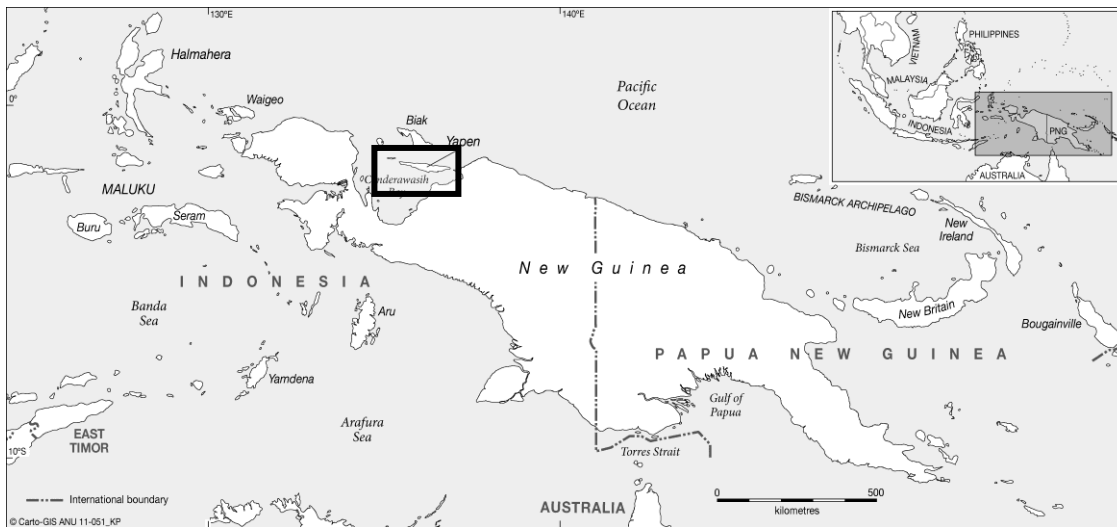
## 1.1. Background

This chapter provides general information about Woi, giving an overview of sociolinguistic, ethnographic, geographic and government administrative facts about the language. It also includes information about the nature of this study including fieldwork and the corpus. The chapter is organized as follows: information about the name of the language and its speakers is described in §1.2. Section 1.3 provides information about the geographical location of the language, as well as giving an ethnographic sketch of the Woi speaking community and government administrative information about Woi. In §1.4, an overview of the origin of the Woi people, their history and social organization is given. Then the following section (§1.5) describes Woi in relation to its linguistic affiliation in the broader context of the South Halmahera-West New Guinea group within Austronesian. Also, it includes a description of the languages of Yapen Island and their linguistic boundaries. Section 1.6 discusses the sociolinguistic situation of Woi, including monolingualism, bilingualism, multilingualism and attitudes of Woi speakers towards their language. This section also includes a brief description of loan words, and dialects of Woi. Further, the last three sections provide information about the nature of this study. In §1.7, the aims of the study are stated, and §1.8 provides information about the current study as the first comprehensive study of Woi. Lastly, §1.9 is mainly concerned with the fieldwork and the corpus used to write this thesis and the establishment of the Center for

Endangered Languages Documentation (CELD) in relation to the project on documenting Woor.

## 1.2. The language and its speakers

The Woor (wbw ISO 639-3) language belongs to the West New Guinea branch of the South Halmahera West New Guinea subgroup of the Austronesian language family. It is spoken mainly in three villages – Woor and Woinap on Yapen Island and Yenuari, a small village on Moisnum Island (known in Map 1.2 as Num Island), in the northern part of Cenderawasih Bay (formerly Geelvink Bay), West Papua,<sup>1</sup> Indonesia. The language is also spoken by a small number of speakers in major towns around West Papua such as Sorong, Manokwari, Serui, Biak and Jayapura.



Map 1.1. The location of Yapen Island in the northwest of New Guinea.

<sup>1</sup>West Papua is the term used to denote the area of Western New Guinea, which is politically administered by Indonesia. Since the area was occupied by Indonesia in 1963 and through the United Nations referendum, the so-called Act of Free Choice in 1969, the area became a province of Indonesia called Irian Barat, which then changed to Irian Jaya. In 2000, the name Papua was declared a replacement for the name Irian Jaya by the former President of Indonesia, Abdul Rahman Wahid, known as Gus Dur. Since then, the province has been known as the Province of Papua. In 2003, the province was divided into two provinces, i.e. the province of Papua and the province of Papua Barat. In this thesis, I will use the term West Papua to indicate both provinces.

Prior to this thesis, Wooi was largely undocumented. There has been very little research on it. The only resources in which some Wooi data is found are Anceaux (1961, 1992). They include wordlists and a few paradigms of personal pronouns and verbs in Wooi as part of their studies on Yapen and other languages in the Cenderawasih Bay area. Thus, this study is the first comprehensive linguistic description of Wooi. For other related languages in the area, there are a few grammatical descriptions that have been produced such as for Biak (Soeparno 1975, 1976, 1983, Steinhauer 1985, 2003, 2005, Mofu 2005, 2008, van den Heuvel 2006), Ambai (Silzer 1983, Prince and Donohue 2007, Karubaba 2008), Wandamen/Wamesa (Bink 1891, Van Balen 1915a and 1915b, Cowan 1955, Gasser 2014), Waropen (Held 1942, 1957), Dusner (Dalrymple & Mofu 2012). Kamholz (2014) provides a new analysis of the South Halmahera-West New Guinea group based on a wider variety of languages in the group. He then comes up with a new proposal of grouping languages in this group. Kamholz particularly works with languages in the south part of Cenderawasih Bay, such as Moor, Yeresiam, Yaur and Umar. Fieldwork has also been carried out by David Gil on Roon but no grammar has yet been published.

The term Wooi refers to the language spoken by people in Wooi, Woinap and Yenuari. The Wooi-speaking people in these three villages identify their language as Wooi and so do outsiders. Other neighbouring communities speaking different languages, such as Ansus, Pom, Marau, and even those as far east as Ambai and Serui-Laut also recognize the term as the language name. In previous studies such as Anceaux (1961), the term Wooi has been given as Woi.

The Wooi-speaking villages of Wooi and Woinap are located on Yapen Island, while Yenuari is on Miosnum or Num Island, or also known as *Ninoing* in Wooi, an island to the west of Yapen (see Map 1.2). However, there are also many Wooi speakers living in

several major towns in West Papua such as in Manokwari, Serui, Jayapura, Biak and Sorong.



Map 1.2. Wooi speaking villages and the linguistic situation on Yapen Island.

The Wooi speaking population in the three villages is 2,647 speakers (village data). The composition of the number of speakers based on traditional villages is: Wooi (1753 speakers), Woinap (744), and Yenuari (150). Adding speakers living outside the three villages, the number of speakers might reach around 3,000 speakers.

In this study, I prefer to spell the name Wooi represented in orthography with double /o/ rather than the single /o/ found in much of literature such as Anceaux (1961). There are two reasons for this. The first reason is that for native speakers the mid back vowel in Wooi is often phonetically a long vowel, realized as [wɔ:ɪ]. The second reason is that there is a common agreement among the Wooi speakers to use double /o/ in the orthographic system,<sup>2</sup> which was based on conventions they were already using, including

<sup>2</sup>The orthographic system was developed as a part of the Wooi language documentation project funded by the Volkswagen Foundation. The development of the orthography was initiated by the language documentation team including Wooi representatives, Enos Werimon and Jimmy Kiriho. The documentation team, including native speakers of Wooi, agreed to use a double /o/ in the word Wooi for all written materials.

in government documents such as official letters, books, reports, etc. Speakers reject the use of single /o/.

### 1.3. Geography, demography and administration

The Wooi-speaking villages are situated on Yapen Island in Cenderawasih Bay (formerly Geelvink Bay), on the northwest coast of the island of New Guinea. Wooi village<sup>3</sup> where the research is based, is located on *Wooi Rawing* ‘Wooi Bay’, on the western tip of the island of Yapen, at 01°40’46.0” southern latitude and 135°30’26.6” eastern longitude. The village is built along the coastline of the bay from which hills rise steeply. This lack of flat land means that all the houses are built on the water along the bay. The village is surrounded by hills, which are part of the Yapen mountain range running from east to west of the island, with the highest peak rising up to 1,430 m (Diamond 1985:68). The entire island of Yapen is covered by tropical rainforest from the mountain range down to the coastal areas.

The Wooi-speaking villages belong administratively to *Distrik Wonawa* ‘Wonawa district’, of *Kabupaten Kepulauan Yapen* ‘Yapen Islands Regency.’ The government of *Kabupaten Kepulauan Yapen* is administered in Serui, the capital, 50 miles east of the Wonawa district. The Wonawa district was established in 2008. Before 2008, the district belonged to *Distrik Yapen Barat* (West Yapen District). The Wonawa District administratively comprises not only *Wooi*, *Woinap* and *Yenuari*, but also other non-Wooi villages such as *Aibondeni*, *Kanaki*, *Saumara*, *Bompeki* and *Ausem*. The former two

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<sup>3</sup>Wooi village refers to both Wooi and Dumani, two current government administrative villages. The reason to only use the name Wooi village throughout this study is to reflect the traditional recognition of the village and the area as *Wooi Rawing* ‘Wooi Bay’. Although, the government has divided Wooi into two autonomous villages administratively, people still refer their village with the single name *Wooi Rawing*. To avoid confusion among the readers, I will use the term Wooi, Wooi village or Wooi Rawing throughout the thesis referring to Wooi and Dumani villages. When referring to the other Wooi speaking communities in Woinap or Yenuari, I will refer them by the village’s name such as the Wooi of Woinap or the Wooi of Yenuari.

villages are situated on the island of Yapen, while the latter three villages are situated on the island of Miosnum. Four small villages on the island of Miosnum – *Yenuari*, *Saumara*, *Bompeki*, and *Ausem* - make up one village administration under the Wonawa district, called Miosnum village. The district borders administratively with Yapen Barat district to the east, Pom District to the north, and the Cenderawasih Bay (*Teluk Cenderawasih*) to the south and west. The total population of the Wonawa district is 3,012 covering an area of about 99, 38 km<sup>2</sup> (BPS Kabupaten Kepulauan Yapen 2009).

Wooi village was first formed by the government in 1968 when Papua, formerly Dutch New Guinea, became a part of Indonesia. Since then, Wooi has been established as an administrative *kampung* (village) which has its own governmental autonomy. The administrative village ran as one village for 40 years,<sup>4</sup> after which it was divided into the two villages of Wooi and Dumani in 2008, which are now administered by two independent village administrations (See footnote 3). Woinap was a traditional village long before Wooi was built and settled. However, it was first formed a government administration in the same time as Wooi. The clans that inhabit Woinap are Rohua, Kirihiio, Lawari, Mandabayang, and Marahole. Some members of Kirihiio and Lawari clans have moved and settled in Wooi and are identified as Kirihiio of Wooi and Lawari of Wooi. Yenuari is a new village established early 2000s. Previously it was just ‘huts’ for fishermen from Wooi who fished on the surrounded sea. Those who live there are mostly people from Wooi village.

The Wooi-speaking communities base their life on both the sea and the land. Living close to the sea, they make use of its resources almost every day. However, most people also have gardens on their own traditional land. Their main staple is sago, supplemented by

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<sup>4</sup>When Wooi became an autonomous village and formed its government at the village level, Yunus Kendi, a former elementary school teacher, was elected to be the head of the village in 1970. He was the head of the village for 29 years until he retired in 1999. Abram Werimon was then appointed to be the head of Wooi village until 2008 when the village was divided into two autonomous villages – Dumani and Wooi. He is still the head of Dumani village; while Noak Wihnyawari was appointed as the head of Wooi village.

cassava, sweet potato and other vegetables, as well as fruits. However, rice has also become a staple alongside sago. Although a few Woois now have jobs as teachers, nurses, and government officials, they still fish and garden like the majority of Woois. However, the Woois who live in cities around West Papua, such as Jayapura, Arso, Manokwari, Serui, and Sorong, mostly work as government officials and in other private sector jobs. They are no longer fishermen or gardeners.

#### **1.4. Ethnology**

Wooi is not recognized as a tribe either by Wooi speakers or by outsiders. Wooi refers only to the people speaking the Wooi language. When referring to ethnic group, the Wooi people refer themselves as Yapen ethnic group along with other Yapen inhabitants. The Wooi community are traditionally composed of several *fam besar* ‘major clans’ which originally came from different places in West Papua. The *fam besar* is the primary sociocultural identification. The Wooi community is composed of five major clans and five small clans associated with the major clans. *Fam besar* are *Wihnyawari*, *Werimon*, *Kirihnio*, *Horota* and *Kendi*. The five small clans are *Lawari* of Kirihnio, *Kapitarauw* and *Tung* of Wihnyawari, *Mantundoy* of Kendi, and *Rouw* of Werimon. These clans settled in *Wooi Rawing* (Wooi Bay) and established the Wooi community.

Each clan has its own social organization, traditional leadership, land ownership, resources and history. Each clan is traditionally responsible for appointing their *korano* (clan leader) and *kapitan* (the war leader). They build their own histories and do not associate with each other in terms of traditional linkage. They form the social groups in the Wooi villages by community agreement.

Originally, the clans arrived in *Wooi Rawing* from different parts of West Papua at different periods of time. Werimon is originally from Wau on the north coast of the Bird’s



Head of New Guinea. Kendi is originally from the Mandowen clan of Biak, the island north of Yapen. Kirihnio is also from Biak and their descendants moved first to Yapen and then lived in Woinap before they resettled in Wooi. Horota came to Yapen from Wandamen, an area to the west of Cenderawasih Bay. They first lived in Ansus and then moved and resettled in Wooi. The small clans arrived in *Wooi Rawing* together with or after the arrival of the big clans as a result of kinship and intermarriage relationships or in banding together in the history of their journeys.<sup>5</sup> Of the clans mentioned above, the Wihnyawari clan is considered to be the native clan of Yapen who live in the Mangkaroway mount, north of the bay.<sup>6</sup> This information derives from legends of each clan and there is a common agreement among clans about such information and each clan in Wooi acknowledges other clans' legends.

There is no single definition shared by all clans regarding the meaning of the word Wooi. They define it differently based on their own historical background. For instance, the Werimon clan claims that the word Wooi is derived from a crocodile's name, which they believe to be their ancestor from Wau village in the Bird's Head region. In the Abun language, a Papuan language of West Papuan group, which used to be the native language of the Werimon clan, the word *wo* means crocodile. Whereas, according to the Kendi clan, the word Wooi derives from two words, *wo* 'sun' and *hawa* 'bay' and means 'the bay which is shone upon by the sun'. Although they do not share a common definition of the word Wooi, the different clans do recognize and identify the term as of the name of their language and place.

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<sup>5</sup>Kapitarauw is originally from Biak, Lawari is from Woinap, Mantundoy is from Woinap, Tung is from Woinap, and Rouw is from Ansus.

<sup>6</sup>However, many people believe that the Wihnyawari clan is originally from Ansus as Wihnyawari is associated with the clan of Aronggear of Ansus. They then moved and lived in the Mangkaroway mountain and then moved down to the coast and occupied the Wobay Bay, west of the current Wooi village. They then moved with other clans to occupy *Wooi Rawing* and formed a permanent settlement, which is now known as Wooi.

## 1.5. Genetic affiliation and linguistic boundaries

Wooi is a member of the South Halmahera-West New Guinea (SHWNG) subgroup. SHWNG together with Oceanic make up Eastern Malayo-Polynesian (EMP) within the genealogical tree of Austronesian (Blust 1978, 2009).

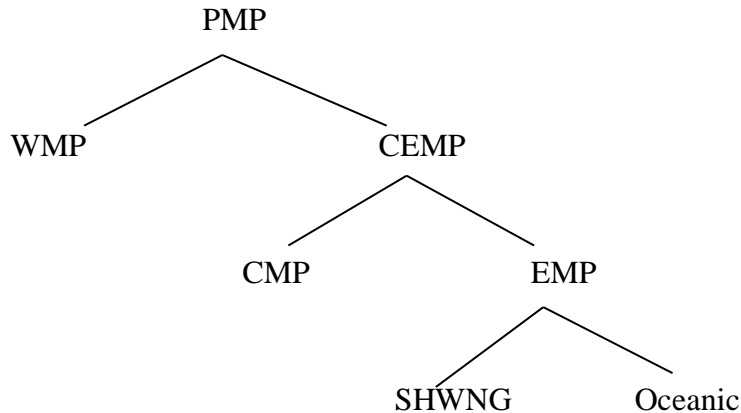


Figure 1.1. The genealogical tree of proto-Malayo Polynesian (Blust 2009)<sup>7</sup>.

While Blust's diagram places languages into main groups/subgroups, he does not mention in detail the languages classified as SHWNG. He mentions, however, Numfor as an example of a Western New Guinea language that belongs to this subgroup. Numfor is a dialect of Biakic spoken in Numfor Island, which, in Anceaux (1961), is described as a sister of Yapen proper that includes Wooi.

SHWNG comprises at least 30-40 languages spoken in the southern half of Halmahera and its adjacent islands, Raja Ampat Archipelago, and the north coast of the Bird's Head of New Guinea to the east to Cenderawasih Bay and its adjacent islands (Blust 2009, van den Berg 2009, see also Pawley and Ross 1993:439, Kamholz 2014). SHWNG is further divided into South Halmahera (SH) and West New Guinea (WNG) branches (Blust 1993a, Ross 1995), although the affiliation of the languages of Raja Ampat are still debated

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<sup>7</sup> MP = Malayo-Polynesian, WMP = West Malayo-Polynesian, CEMP = Central-Eastern Malayo-Polynesian, CMP = Central Malayo-Polynesian, EMP = Eastern Malayo-Polynesian, SHWNG = South Halmahera-West New Guinea

(Kamholz 2014). Languages belonging to the South Halmahera branch are Buli, Maba, Patani, Sawai, Gane and Taba or Makian Dalam. The Raja Ampat languages include Ambel, Maya, Batanta, Matbat, and Biga. The WNG branch mainly comprises the languages of Austronesian origin of the Cenderawasih Bay and its surrounding areas. Languages such as Biak, Roon, Dusner, Meoswar, Wooi, Wandamen, Ansus, Ambai, Serui-Laut, Papuma, Munggui, Wabo, Kurudu, Waropen, Moor, etc., fall into this branch (see Remijsen 2001). Blust (1978) referring to Anceaux (1961) calls this branch the Sarera group.

Anceaux (1961) collected wordlists for lexical correspondences, a few paradigms of personal pronouns and verbs for the languages in this area, including mainly the languages of Yapen Island, Biak, and the Austronesian languages to the east, south and west of Cenderawasih Bay, and compared them. He then divided WNG into five sub-branches. They are Biakic, Waropen, Moor, Wandamen and East Yapen. Blust (1978) groups Wandamen and East Yapen of Anceaux (1961) together as a Yapen subgroup and divides it into two sub-branches, i.e. Yapen and East Yapen. Yapen proper covers all the languages of Yapen and Wandamen with the exception of Wabo and Kurudu, which are spoken to the east of the island which are included in East Yapen proper. Waropen and Moor form different branches.

Kamholz (2014) gives a new proposal for grouping SHWNG languages. He uses a wider variety of languages, especially languages from southern part of Cenderawasih Bay, to reconstruct a new hypothesis. His proposal is based on shared morphological innovations. Some languages in the new proposal do not appear in the old classification (Anceaux 1961, Blust 1978, Ross 1988). Figure 1.2 shows Kamholz's (2014) proposed new SHWNG subgrouping.

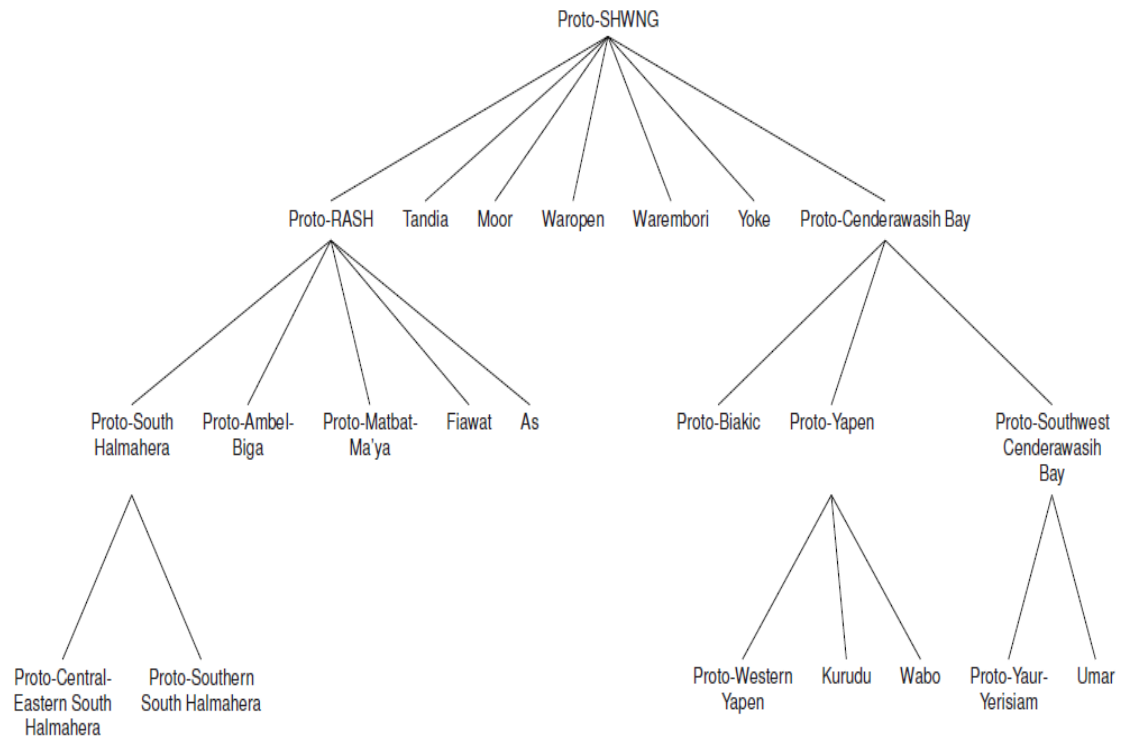
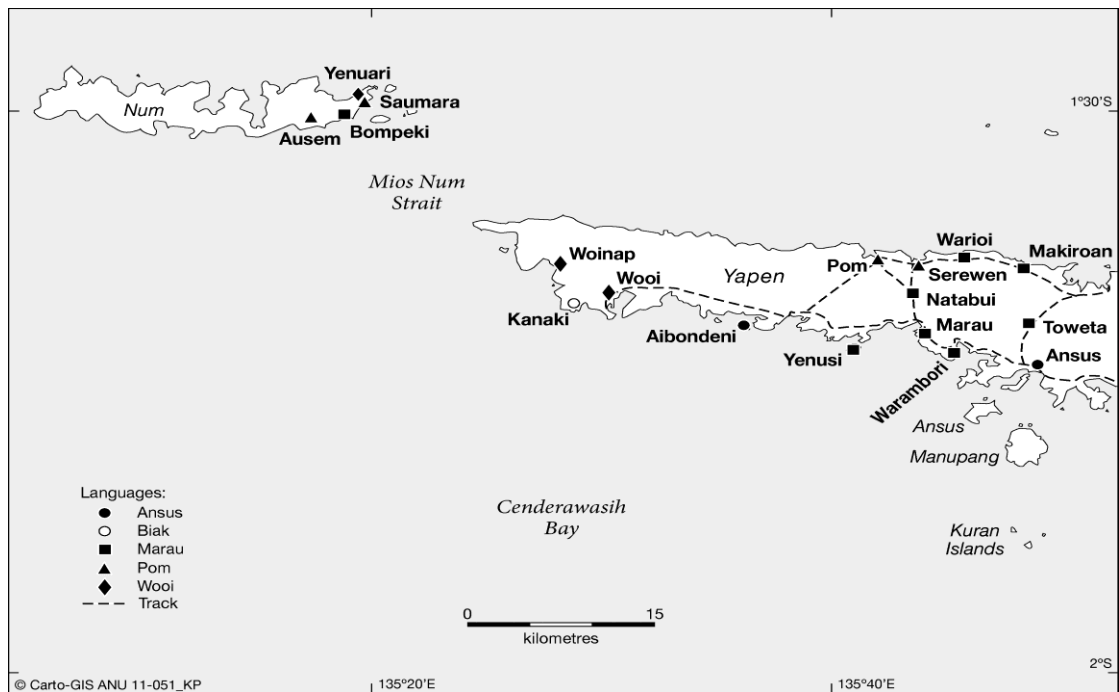


Figure 1.2. New proposed subgrouping of SHWNG languages (Kamholz, 2014).

According to this new proposal, languages such as Woi, Wandamen, Ambai, Ansum fall into the Western Yapen group, which is the sister of Kurudu and Wabo within Yapen. Members of the Biakic, Yapen and Southern Cenderawasih Bay groups belong to the higher node which is the Cenderawasih Bay branch. This grouping was independently proposed by Gasser (2015), who calls it Biak-Yapen.

Wooi-speaking villages are located on the western part of Yapen Island together with communities speaking several other languages. The villages are surrounded by a Biak speaking village (Kanaki), an Ansus-speaking village (Aibondeni), Pom speaking villages (Pom, Serewen, Ausem, Saumare), Marau speaking villages (Marau, Yenusi and Natabui) (see Map 1.2).

Mapping languages in this geographical area is important as these language communities do not form regular and distinct patterns in the geographical landscape. The method of drawing a border line between languages or colouring the language speaking area to indicate a particular language area on a map is not appropriate for the linguistic situation on Yapen Island. This method has been commonly used by Summer Institute of Linguistics to map languages in West Papua and tends to simplify the ethnolinguistic and ecolinguistic facts in West Papua, especially on Yapen Island. For instance, between the two Wooi speaking villages, Wooi and Woinap, there is a Biak speaking village, Kanaki, which does not appear on SIL maps. The same is true for the ethnolinguistic situation in Miosnum (Num) Island. This irregular pattern of the linguistic situation in the western part of Yapen Island can be seen in Map 1.3.



Map 1.3. Linguistic situation in the western part of Yapen Island.

Monolingualism within one village in Yapen is rarely found. Bilingualism and multilingualism are common, especially in North Yapen in which Biak speakers and Onate (Yawa) speakers inhabit one village (see Map 1.2). Thus, the appropriate method of mapping the linguistic situation in Yapen Island is to map a language index by village with a particular symbol and to avoid drawing a border lines around languages.

## 1.6. Sociolinguistic situation

### 1.6.1. Monolingualism, bilingualism, multilingualism and language attitudes

Today, members of the Wooi speaking community in Wooi speaking villages are bilingual or multilingual. During my fieldwork, I never found any monolingual speakers. Even some of the oldest Wooi speakers in the villages are bilingual/multilingual, and Wooi speakers of all ages speak more than one language.

The two dominant languages used in Wooi-speaking villages are Wooi and Papuan Malay<sup>8</sup>. This situation began in the 1920s-1950s when churches and education were expanding to Wooi speaking villages, and their activities have been intensively carried out in the villages since then. These churches and schools mainly use Malay as the language of communication. In the 1960s, many Wooi speakers moved out from the villages to towns in West Papua, which influenced them to speak other languages besides Wooi. Since then, more and more Wooi speakers have become bilingual in Wooi and Papuan Malay, and today they are all bilingual and some of them are multilingual.

The sociolinguistic setting of bilingualism and multilingualism reflects the Wooi speakers' socio-cultural relations with other Yapen communities. Social status, gender and education do not seem to affect patterns of multilingualism in the villages, rather age seems to be the relevant factor. It is obvious that Wooi is the first and predominant language for most adult and older Wooi speakers who are older than 30 years old in the Wooi-speaking villages in Yapen and Miosnum Islands, regardless of gender difference (men and women). Speakers older than 60 years also speak Biak, Pom, Ansus and Wandamen with different degrees of fluency. They speak the language, using it in everyday life, such as in family conversations, among neighbours, in village meetings, in customary assembly meetings, cultural events (traditional dances, folktales, traditional histories) and in market

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<sup>8</sup> Papuan Malay or *Melayu Papua* is one of the two dominant languages spoken by the Wooi community either as a first or a second language. Papuan Malay is the Malay variety used as a lingua franca by people in West Papua, formerly Irian Jaya, which are now the provinces of Papua and Papua Barat, Indonesia. The language has been used across the northern coast of West Papua for centuries and has been the lingua franca for trade, in Christian missions, and also during the Dutch administration. Multilingual Melanesian communities of Yapen Island also use Papuan Malay as a lingua franca. People of Wooi, Ansus, Biak, Pom, Wandamen, and others use the language to communicate with each other. This is the reason why the Wooi people have become bilingual in Wooi and Papuan Malay regardless of their age, gender, occupation, or social status. It is hard to find a Wooi person today who cannot speak Papuan Malay, but it is easy to find a Wooi person who cannot speak Wooi as fluently as Papuan Malay. The current situation where Wooi speakers commonly speak Papuan Malay is also the picture found with speakers of other indigenous languages in West Papua. There are more people, especially among the younger generations, who speak Papuan Malay as their dominant language and who tend to become monolingual speakers of Papuan Malay.

conversations. For speakers younger than 30 and also children, Papuan Malay is typically the dominant language, as they grew up speaking Papuan Malay more often than Wooi. However, they still speak Wooi as well. Mostly, people in Wooi speaking villages still show a positive attitude toward Wooi, regardless of their age, and the language is still healthy and strong.

In some restricted cases, some Wooi men married women from different languages and can speak their wives' languages. However, there is no big effect of intermarriage towards the use of other languages by the children of intermarriage families. Some speakers also still keep socio-cultural relations with people from other areas so they are also fluent in the languages of those areas. They often visit other communities to hold cultural events together. To do so, they often use the language of the community they visit. For instance, people of Wooi often visit Natabui, which is a Marau-speaking village, to hold a *tifa* dance, which can last for days, and on this occasion, Wooi people communicate in Marau. Older people of Kapitarauw clan also still use Pom to communicate with their family in Pom, from whence they originally came.

Social relationships among people in West and North Yapen must have been intense in the past as they share many similarities in culture, especially in *lagu* and *dansa adat* (lit. customary song and dance). At many cultural events and *pesta adat* (customary feasts), people sing and dance. Such events are common cultural practices among indigenous communities and involve participation of people from different communities with different linguistic backgrounds. Songs from different languages are performed at feasts, including *koya*, *Ainuai* (customary Ansum songs), *Bewir* and *Waihiri* (customary Wandamen songs).<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>The songs performed by Wooi speakers are from different languages. *Lagu adat* is the key cultural element in feasts, such as a dancing feast, marriage ceremonies, ear piercings, etc. Therefore, traditional songs cannot be separated from Wooi people's life. For instance, people always sing *Koya* and *Ainuai* in their daily activities such as when paddling canoes, building houses, fishing, caring for babies, etc. *Bewir* and *Waihiri* are



As such, social relationships require people to speak and sing in different languages, which has created possibilities for people to become multilingual.

The Wooi language is not commonly used in church services and school activities. Rather, the preacher and the congregation and teachers and students tend to use some degree of the formal Bahasa Indonesia or Papuan Malay, which is the wide-spread lingua franca in the West Papua area. Bahasa Indonesia and Papuan Malay are also used in formal situation such as in a government meeting, in the health centre and other formal gatherings.

A contrasting situation occurs with members of Wooi communities living in the big cities around West Papua. Most of the Wooi generation who were born in the cities cannot speak Wooi. They range from passive speakers to having little or no knowledge of the language. This generation especially includes those who were born after the late 1970s. They grew up speaking Papuan Malay as their first language. Although their parents can speak Wooi, there is no positive attitude to transfer the language to their children. When interviewing a young Wooi speaker, he said, “*...anana yang tinggal di kampung semua mase bisa bicara bahasa Wooi, tapi anana Wooi yang besar di kota dong su tra bisa bicara bahasa lagi*” (children who live in the village (Wooi village) can still speak Wooi, but children who grow up in the cities cannot speak the language anymore). This shows the gap between the young generations of Wooi living in the Wooi villages and those living in the cities.

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more restricted ritual songs and are only sung at the customary ceremonies such as dancing feast, ear piercings, bridal payment feasts, etc. The songs can be sung by both males and females. It is interesting that the Wooi community does not have Wooi language songs in their cultural events, but adopts songs from other languages into their culture. Further future ethnographic and ethnomusicological studies on the topic will be necessary.

### 1.6.2. Loan words

The sociolinguistic phenomena of bilingualism and multilingualism, especially the use of Woi and Papuan Malay, have contributed to speakers of Woi borrowing words from Papuan Malay. In the texts, Papuan Malay lexical items are mainly used in Woi discourse in comparison to other languages. For instance, in several selected texts used in this thesis, there are only Malay loan words that are used in Woi sentences. These loan words are mainly used in daily conversations among men, women, and children, but not in traditional stories. In traditional stories, only Woi is used. Loan words from other languages in the region are rare or not found, with an exception of a couple of words from Anus.

These loan words from Papuan Malay and Anus are small in number but they are frequent in use. On many occasions, Woi speakers use Papuan Malay words, commonly coordinated words and nouns, when they speak Woi. From this it can be concluded that Woi is still used effectively in expressing ideas, cultures, and traditions and for exchanging messages by its users. Only small portions of semantic domains are expressed with loan words. There are two strategies in using loan words in Woi: the lexical strategy and the grammatical strategy. There are words that are adopted into Woi without modification. Thus, the words still preserve their original form from the source languages. For instance, the Malay words *kunci* ‘key’ or *pendita* ‘pastor’. The forms are preserved and are used as they are in Woi sentences. On the other hand, there are words that are integrated grammatically into Woi. These kinds of words still preserve their original forms phonologically, but they take on grammatical properties from Woi. As one example, the verb *tau* ‘know’ is a Malay word, which has been borrowed into Woi and is used with

Wooi grammatical properties, such as occurring with the verbalized prefix *ve-* to form a Wooi verb *vetau* ‘to know.’

Ve +tau ‘know’  
VBLZ+know

This type of construction is a common phenomenon in Wooi verbs.

Code-switching is also found frequently in daily conversations, especially among children and the younger generation. Students at elementary schools and junior high school in the village switch from Wooi to Papuan Malay or vice versa easily when talking to their friends. This phenomenon does not appear among adult and older people. In this age group, people tend to use Wooi in most of their conversations.

### 1.6.3. Dialects

There is a dialectal differentiation but it is very minor. The differences are mainly in the word level. These differences are observed between the varieties spoken in Wooi and Woinap. The variation is mainly phonological, both segmental and supra-segmental. Lexical variation is also found but is not common, and there appears to be no difference in grammatical structure.

The phonetic and phonological differences between Wooi spoken in Wooi and Woinap include the places and manners of articulations, vowel and consonant insertions, vowels and diphthongs. Phonetically, the voiced bilabial fricative is common in Wooi spoken by people in Wooi village, but it is not common for Wooi speakers of the Woinap village, as in the word for *teravava* ‘shoulder’. Wooi speakers of the Wooi village pronounce the sound represented orthographically by *v* with a voiced bilabial fricative sound [β], while in Woinap people pronounce it with a voiced bilabial stop [b]. Another example is that the word *karepiapa* ‘rattan’ is pronounced by deleting the phoneme /e/ in

Wooi while in Woinap, it is pronounced by changing the phoneme /e/ to a schwa [ə]. Vowels versus diphthongs are also a common difference. In Wooi, people tend to pronounce words with single vowels, but diphthongs are more common among people in Woinap.

<b>word</b>	<b>Wooi</b>	<b>Woinap</b>
Sago	'anaŋ maŋ'kaɾeŋ	'anaŋ maŋ'kaɾaŋ
Genemo leaves	mara'paraŋ	mara'parauŋ
Python	pina 'kamre	pina 'kamrei

There are very few lexical differences found between speakers in Wooi and Woinap. Out of 306 words in the represented wordlist, there are only 9 lexical differences. Some are different lexical stems, but some are phonological variation.

<b>word</b>	<b>Wooi</b>	<b>Woinap</b>
leaf	'ariaŋ	rauŋ
wood	'ai	'ai rabɔ
gedi (k.o. vegetable)	ai 'rawiŋ 'bataŋ	'tuai
shin	ae 'reŋ	'aere ne 'hine
wall	kaβa 'ria	ha 'para
ship	'surup	waam 'be
cloud	pi 'papa	pi 'wɔri
few	'pawβa	ka 'teha
slow	nanu 'hara	wa 'tera

Although the data show some variation phonologically and lexically, overall there are no significant differences. Wooi speakers in Wooi village recognize the variation in phonology and lexicon used by the people in Woinap.

## **1.7. Aims of the study**

The main goal of this study is to provide an overall grammatical description of the Wooi language in as clear and explicit manner as possible. The grammar includes a description of the phonetic and phonological, morphological, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic aspects of the language. Specific aspects of phonetics and phonology, such as the

consonant and vowel inventory, phonotactics, syllable structure, morpho-phonemic processes, the system of stress, and the orthography will be discussed. The thesis will also describe the morphology and syntax of the language, covering topics such as the morphological structure of the major word classes of nouns and verbs, as well as clausal syntax relating to constituent structure and order and the encoding of grammatical relations and valency. In addition the thesis explores Woori pragmatic structure through a description of information structure categories.

The grammar is an attempt to provide a comprehensive study of the linguistic structure of Woori based predominantly on natural data. The aim is to have a description of Woori that is of interest to two types of readers. First, it is intended to enrich linguistic research in West Papua, since thus far many languages in this area are poorly or not at all documented. By doing so, it will help Austronesian and Papuan linguists who focus on languages in western New Guinea (West Papua). In line with this, the grammar will also contribute to the study of comparative and historical linguistics, especially for Austronesianists who are investigating the Austronesian languages of the South Halmahera and West New Guinea subgroup, for which there is a lack of sufficient and detailed data on individual languages. Second, the grammar also will be of interest to general theoretical linguists of various schools of thought as a source of data. The data and its description in the grammar can provide insights into the nature and development of language, and so can enrich linguistic theories.

## **1.8. The current study of Woori**

The current study of Woori is the first comprehensive study of the language. The study has two purposes with two different outputs. The first purpose is to investigate the linguistic structure of the language in order to write a grammar of Woori. The second

purpose is to document the language as comprehensively as possible. The grammar will supplement the documentation project by providing linguistic analysis of the language data recorded as part of the Woi language documentation project funded by Volkswagen Foundation through the DoBeS language documentation program since 2008.

Woi is considered to be an undocumented language. There are no comprehensive written materials of any kind in any field that have ever been produced on Woi. Some related languages in the area, such as Ambai, Biak, Wandamen, Waropen, have been under intensive study and written materials are available as described in § 1.1, and languages such as Moor, Roon and Dusner are also known a little from written materials. The existing main source about languages in Cenderawasih Bay is Anceaux (1961) but this only provides comparative studies of Austronesian languages in Cenderawasih Bay. These resources lack detailed descriptions of the languages, including Woi. Thus, this grammar of Woi contributes to the description not only of Woi linguistic structure, but also of ethnographic information.

This study is based purely on my fieldwork, thus information and data collected during the fieldwork are the sole source for my study. The grammar is based on natural and elicited data: stories, conversations, elicited sentences, and wordlists. There were no other data resources available from previous research.

As both language documentation activities and linguistic information about the language are very important in order to provide comprehensive information about Woi, I decided to write a grammar of Woi for my doctoral thesis. Both works can contribute to each other. The documentation project can provide a corpus for my study and I will provide a full linguistic description to make up a full collection of materials about Woi. This will

benefit many people, especially the Wooi community and the linguistic community who can make use of the materials.

## **1.9. Fieldwork and data**

### **1.9.1. Fieldwork**

The data used in this study comes primarily from several periods of fieldwork, during which I had the chance to work with native speakers of Wooi in different places in West Papua. Most of my data were collected during my fieldwork in Wooi village on the island of Yapen, in the northern part of Cenderawasih Bay, from 2008 to 2010, when I had several trips to Wooi village. In the village, I stayed with a Wooi family, Bapak Nehemiah Werimon and his family, which became *sa pu keluarga angkat* ‘my adopted family.’ During my first visit in October-November 2008, I mainly did data elicitation with Bapak Nehemiah Werimon and Bapak Enos Werimon. Most of the data was about verbal and nominal paradigms. The second trip was made in January-February 2009. On this trip, I was accompanied by Dr. Alexander Loch as part of the Documenting Wooi project. In the village, we recorded about 20 texts and collected ethnographical information about the people of Wooi and their village. We also visited another Wooi village, Woinap, and collected a wordlist and a list of sentences. During this trip, I also extended my elicited data, especially concerning sentence structures, and added more verbal paradigms.

The third fieldtrip was done from September to December 2009. During this trip, I worked in three places – Manokwari, Serui and Wooi. In Manokwari, I worked with two main language consultants, Yotam Werimon and Jimmy Kirihiio. In Serui, I worked with Bapak Enos Werimon and in Wooi, I worked with Bapak Nehemiah Werimon and his wife, E. Lawari. Especially in Wooi, I was again accompanied by Dr. Loch and Jimmy Kirihiio and we made many recordings from various genres and from various people from different

clans – Werimon, Kiriho, Horota, Kendi, Wihyawari, and Kapitarauw. The next trip was made in June-August 2010. In Wooi, I worked mainly with data recordings in order to transcribe and translate them. I also extended my data elicitation with various sentence structures from different grammatical constructions. I also worked with Jimmy Kiriho in Manokwari. He is the representative from the Wooi community who works for the Documenting Wooi project based in Center for Endangered Languages (CELD) in University of Papua, Manowari. My fieldwork was mainly funded by the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology in Leipzig, Germany, which awarded me a doctoral scholarship to study at the Australian National University (ANU) in Canberra, I also received fieldwork funds from the ANU.

### **1.9.2. Corpus**

The data for the study is classified as of two types, i.e. natural texts and elicitation data. The term “natural texts” refers to all recorded texts that include stories, dialogues, and monologues. This data is mainly part of the Documenting Wooi project. There are approximately 100 recording sessions, totalling nearly 100 hours of audio-visual recordings. Out of the total number of recordings, I selected 54 recordings, totalling about 108 minutes of audio-visual recordings from various genres – stories, jokes, children’s conversations, village meetings, customary stories, the frog story and prayers, but I relied most heavily on 13 of these recordings. The texts vary in length: one text is one and a half hours long, six texts are between 10 to 20 minutes long, and another six texts are less than 10 minutes long. Altogether, the texts used in the study equal about three hours of natural spoken Wooi. All texts have been recorded in audio-video formats and have been exported into ELAN, where transcriptions, annotations and translations have been added. They have also been interlinearized in Toolbox, and most of the examples that I use in my thesis are



from these texts. Samples of texts used in this study can be found in Appendix. Other Wooi texts mentioned in this thesis are accessible in Language Archive ([www.dobes.mpi.nl/projects/wooi/](http://www.dobes.mpi.nl/projects/wooi/)).

The use of natural text data is a basic principle of the study, so the recorded texts are the primary resource for the analysis. The various texts were recorded with native speakers using their language in natural settings, such as telling stories, having conversations and explaining things. The text collection provides naturally occurring morpho-syntactic structures that would not be found through elicitation. Meanwhile, the texts also contain social and cultural content from various genres, and it is not only language data that is recorded, but also the cultural traditions of Wooi.

The elicitation data refers to certain expected sets of data (mainly phrases, clauses and sentences) that are collected to project specific grammatical properties in Wooi. The elicitation data also aims at investigating the various sentence structures that occur in the language. It functions to fill gaps in the data or to further explore certain grammatical features, which the texts do not fully capture and to ascertain grammaticality judgements. The elicited data includes simple and complex sentences, and aims to target particular grammatical features such as person-verb agreement, phrasal and sentential constituent order, causative constructions, and focus and topic constructions. Thus far, 50 categories of elicited data, which are based on certain grammatical features, have been used in the study. Each category has about 30 to 50 sentences so together they make up about 2,000 sentences. Some of these data were recorded with an audio recorder and have been put into ELAN and interlinearized in Toolbox.

Thus, all examples that are highlighted in this thesis come from these two types of data. When examples are from natural texts, there will be text source available. Otherwise, the data are from the elicited materials.

### **1.9.3. Center for Endangered Languages Documentation (CELD) and language documentation in West Papua**

As mentioned, most of the data, especially the natural texts, I use here in my thesis are a part of the Documenting Wooi project started officially in 2009. The project also aims to establish local capacity building, and building infrastructure that can facilitate state of the art linguistic and anthropological research and reach out to communities of endangered languages in West Papua. As mentioned above, the Center for Endangered Languages Documentation (CELD) was founded in 2009 as a part of Documenting Wooi project (see <http://dobes.mpi.nl/projects/wooi/>). The CELD focuses its work on documenting and preserving the indigenous languages in Papua, most of which are to some degree endangered. CELD is locally run with local staff based in University of Papua, Manokwari, West Papua. However, it works in close collaboration with University of Cologne, coordinated by Prof. Nikolaus Himmelmann.

The centre is well equipped with the latest documentation technology and the staff are trained in the best practical methods of language documentation that enable them to carry out documentation activities among indigenous languages in the region. In the first three years (2009-2011), the CELD focused on documenting Wooi. However, currently, the Centre has been working on several different documentation activities in West Papua, which is known as one of the most linguistically diverse areas on earth, together with Papua New Guinea. More than 1000 languages are spoken by indigenous communities in this region and about 300 of these are spoken only in West Papua.

Many of these languages are currently undergoing a rapid reduction in usage. Speakers of these languages in many contexts tend to use the national language, Bahasa Indonesia, and the lingua franca, Papuan Malay, in most domains of life. When they are involved in modern public activities such as schools, marketplaces, government activities, business, churches, and other social activities, they have to use either of these two languages, both of which are increasingly in use among multilingual communities in West Papua. This fact reduces the use of indigenous languages in many aspects of speakers' social lives. It is a fact that in West Papua now many young people who grow up in the cities often cannot speak their indigenous languages anymore.

CELD's core belief, as stated on the CELD website ([www.celd-papua.net](http://www.celd-papua.net)), is that the language and culture of a society are born and developed within a philosophy, world view, way of life and knowledge, as well as human experience which are closely related to nature and the surrounding world. The core of the interrelationship between humans and nature in terms of language and culture is to form identity and self-esteem. Thus, when a language and culture disappear, the identity and self-esteem of a community also disappear and the world loses some of its intangible heritage. Therefore, the CELD was established to build awareness among people about the importance of documenting and saving the indigenous languages and cultures of West Papua.

In addition to this primary goal, the CELD has also now become a centre for: 1) training local linguists, linguistic students, community members, and language activists in state of the art documentation techniques and methods; 2) supporting teachers, government agencies, artists, and language activists to develop and use indigenous language materials for teaching and learning purposes; 3) developing a regional archive for language and culture in West Papua and surrounding regions; 4) developing a learning centre and library

in the fields of linguistics and anthropology; and 5) developing local, regional and international engagement in linguistics, anthropology and language documentation research, and a discussion forum in the region.

Since its inception, the CELD has held training and workshops on language documentation for local community members, and students and teaching staff at University of Papua in Manokwari and other places in West Papua. It is also involved in developing local materials such as picture books, storytelling materials and audio materials for local communities. On a weekly basis, the centre runs a Reading Circle, involving regular meetings with students to develop their knowledge of general linguistics and language documentation. The centre has a library that contains linguistics, anthropology and language documentation materials – printed books and electronic PDF reading materials – that are accessible to the public.

The CELD, in collaboration with international partners such as the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology (MPI-EVA), Leipzig, Germany, the Australian National University (ANU), and the University of Cologne, Germany, has successfully organized an international forum for languages in the Melanesian region, the Workshop on Languages of Papua, that has been held four times (2007, 2010, 2014, and 2017) so far.

The Center is also visited by national and international linguists on regular basis. Some of these scholars have a long-term commitment with us, especially linguists from University of Cologne, MPI-EVA and the ANU, and others are doctoral students and faculty from several universities in Australia, the United States and Europe who do linguistic research in West Papua. They do not only come to do research for their own sake but they have been also involved in capacity-building at the centre and at the University by taking part in teaching, mentoring, and presenting papers. The CELD basically promotes a

‘shared knowledge approach’ to collaboration, in which all parties benefit from each other. International and national linguists greatly benefit from working in West Papua for their own professional purposes, learning from local communities, local students and teaching staff, but at the same time they also transfer their expertise, knowledge and experience to local students and teaching staff and local communities in West Papua.

Currently, the CELD and its partner (University of Cologne) have been working on documentation programs for several languages in West Papua. Along with the Wooi project, CELD has been also working with the Iha speaking community, a Papuan language in the Southwest of West Papua, Yali and Eipo Mek, two Papuan of Trans-New Guinea languages in the Central Highlands of New Guinea. CELD also organizes and funds several small student projects in Laani (Western Dani) and Walak, two languages of the Dani family in the Central Highlands, Mpur, a Papuan language of West Papuan Family, and Wandamen/Wamesa, an Austronesian language. All these projects are totally funded by the DoBes program.

All the corpora from these documentation programs are stored in several places. They are mainly stored at the local archive at the CELD but they are also archived at the University of Cologne, Germany and The Language Archive at the Max Plank Institute for Psycholinguistics in Nijmegen, the Netherlands. In collaboration with The Language Archive in Nijmegen, the Netherlands, CELD now runs a satellite server for language documentation that connects to the main server in the MPI in Nijmegen, and in the University of Cologne.

# **Chapter 2 – Phonology**

## **2.1. Introduction**

This chapter presents a preliminary description of the phonology of Wooi. The chapter includes a description of the Wooi phoneme inventory in §2.2, which consists of the vowel inventory (§2.2.1), diphthongs (§2.2.2) and the consonant inventory (§2.2.3). This is followed by the phonotactic patterns in Wooi in §2.3. The phonotactics aim to present word templates (§2.3.1), consonant clusters (§2.3.2), vowel sequences (§2.3.3) and phoneme distribution (§2.3.4) in Wooi. An initial analysis of stress patterns is given in §2.4, however, a more in-depth study must await further research. Finally, morpho(phonology) is dealt with in §2.5.

## **2.2. Phoneme inventory**

There is a total of 34 segmental phonemes in the phoneme inventories of Wooi – 5 vowels, 13 diphthongs, and 16 consonants.

### **2.2.1. Vowel phonemes**

Wooi has a simple symmetrical five-vowel system, consisting of two front vowels, two back vowels and a single low central vowel as represented in Table 2.1. Schwa does not exist in Wooi. Vowel length is not phonemic, nor is nasalization.

Table 2.1. Woor vowel inventory

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e		o
Low		a	

The vowel phonemes can be illustrated in minimal and near-minimal pairs in (1).

- (1) wi 'mount'  
 βe 'for/REL'  
 wa 'canoe'  
 wo 'sun'  
 bu 'DIR'

The five vowel phonemes have various allophonic realizations depending on the phonological environments in which they occur. Table 2.2 illustrates the allophones of the 5 vowel phonemes in Woor.

Table 2.2. Vowel phonemes and allophonic variations in Woor

Phonemes	Allophones			
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)
/i/	[i:]	[ĩ]	[ĩ̃]	[i]
/e/	[e:]	[ě]		[e]
/a/	[a:]	[ǎ]		[a]
/o/	[o:]	[õ]		[o]
/u/	[u:]	[ũ]	[ũ̃]	[u]

There are three main allophones for each vowel, and one specific allophone features two high vowels, based on the environments that they are realized in. These allophonic realisations are predictable and share common phonological environments with each other. The following are the allophonic variations of all vowels:

- a. The long vowel allophone commonly occurs in two environments, i.e. as the nucleus of a stressed open syllable, and in syllables that consist solely of the vowel. The former is mostly visible in disyllabic, trisyllabic, and polysyllabic words. In polysyllabic words, the duration of vowel length is little bit shorter than in disyllabic and trisyllabic words, but still longer than other vowels in the words. The following is the phonological rule for a long vowel:

$$(1) \quad /V/ \rightarrow [V:] / \begin{array}{l} ['C \_ ]\sigma \\ [\# V]\sigma \\ [+Syll] \end{array}$$

The allophonic variation that represents the long vowel can be illustrated as follows:

[i:]	['ni:.něj]	/ninei/	'this'
	[kõ.'ri:.si]	/korisi/	'one'
	[kã.'mi:]	/kami/	'seed'
[e:]	['ne:.tũiŋ]	/netuiŋ/	'feather'
	[tẽ.'re:]	/tere/	'teeth'
	['e:.ha]	/eha/	'other'
[a:]	['a:.ja]	/aya/	'bird'
	['ma:.nu]	/manu/	'house'
	['a:naŋ]	/anaŋ/	'sago'
[o:]	['ro:.ra]	/rora/	'sky'
	[ã.'ro:.ra]	/arora/	'rope'
[u:]	['cu:.ru]	/curu/	'night'
	['u:.tu]	/utu/	'louse'
	[kã.'ru:pũj]	/karupui/	'back'

Stress assignment triggers the allophonic long vowel (see §2.3). When a syllable is stressed, the vowel is expected to be lengthened. The difference in length of vowels in stressed and unstressed syllables can be measured. For instance, the words in Table 2.3 consist of different numbers of syllables: two syllables (a-g), three syllables (h-k), four syllables (l), five syllables (m), and six syllables (n). They show different duration of length between syllables (the stressed syllable and its duration is shown in bold). Table 2.3 shows the following features of duration of stressed and unstressed syllables:



- i. It is clear that a stressed syllable is longer than an unstressed one, although the duration of length may differ from one word to another. For instance in (b) the length of the stressed syllable in the word *manu* ‘house’ is 0.051 seconds longer than the unstressed one.
- ii. Stressed syllables, closed syllables and open syllables differ in the length of which the open syllable is longer than that of the closed one. This can be seen in (h) and (i) (open syllable) and in (f) and (g) (closed syllable).
- iii. The nucleus of unstressed syllables preceding the stressed syllable is shorter than the nucleus of the unstressed syllables following the stressed syllable. This occurs in tri-syllabic words or more such as in (h – n), with the exception of (k).

Table 2.3. The duration of vowel length in stressed and unstressed syllables.

	Words	Length of vowel (in seconds)					
		$\sigma$	$\sigma$	$\sigma$	$\sigma$	$\sigma$	$\sigma$
a	[ 'wo: .na ] ‘dog’	<b>0.228</b>	0.197				
b	[ 'ma: .nu ] ‘house’	<b>0.232</b>	0.181				
c	[ re. 'ho: ] ‘I see’	0.116	<b>0.387</b>				
d	[ 'βa: .βiŋ ] ‘woman’	<b>0.181</b>	0.124				
e	[ 'ka: .puŋ ] ‘tail’	<b>0.178</b>	0.125				
f	[ 'ma: .n. dep ] ‘cloud’	<b>0.160</b>	0.120				
g	[ 'he: .m. bǎj ] ‘rainbow’	<b>0.164</b>	0.195				
h	[ kǎ. 'ko: .pa ] ‘soil/land’	0.063	<b>0.245</b>	0.152			
i	[ kar. 'pja: .pa ] ‘rattan’	0.081	<b>0.230</b>	0.120			
j	[ kǒ. 'ri: .si ] ‘one’	0.094	<b>0.204</b>	0.192			
k	[ rě. mu. 'ho: ] ‘you see’	0.081	0.108	<b>0.296</b>			
l	[ , mǎŋ. kǒ. 'ke: .i ] ‘chicken’	0.068	0.062	<b>0.201</b>	0.197		
m	[ ǎm. pě. rǎ. 'ro: .i ] ‘house lizard’	0.093	0.93	0.102	<b>0.201</b>	0.198	
n	[ , pǐ. hǎ. mǎ. tǎ. 'pa: .pu ] ‘frog’	0.088	0.092	0.084	0.087	<b>0.125</b>	0.120

Table 2.3 shows a different stress pattern with words such as in (c) and (k), which take a final syllable stress pattern. This stress pattern mainly relates to morphological words. The word *reho* ‘I see’ (c) and *remuho* ‘you see’ (k) show the vowel of the stressed syllable is

longer than that of phonological words because the stressed syllable is the open syllable of the final syllable in the word. Further description of the final syllable stress pattern is given in §2.4.2.

- b. The short vowel allophone occurs in all nuclei of syllables preceding the stressed syllable. The following is the phonological rule:

(2) /V/ → Short V /#\_\_ 'CV[+stress]

This can be illustrated in the following examples:

[ãm. pě.rã. 'ro:.i]	/amperaroi/	'house lizard'
[ã. 'ro:.ra]	/arora/	'rope'
[tě. 'pe:.i]	/tepei/	'thick'
[mě. 'ni:]	/meni/	'thin'
[pĩ.nã.mũ. 'na:.i]	/pinamunai/	'snake'
[kõ. 'ri:.si]	/korisi/	'one'

In exception, the morphological words such as in (c) and (k) in Table 2.3 do not allow the immediate syllable preceding the stressed syllable to be shortened. It is the other preceding syllable, if there are any, that must be shortened.

- c. Nasalized vowel allophones only occur in the environment where the high vowel /i/ and /u/ are preceded by the glide phoneme /h/. In this case both the glide and the vowel are nasalized. The following is the rule:

(3) /V/ → nasalized V / h \_\_  
[+nasal]

The rule is illustrated with the following words:

[ĩ]	[hĩã]	/hia/	'3PL'
	[hĩ:.ha]	/hiha/	'mainland'
	[ma. 'hĩ]	/mahi/	'fit'
[ũ]	[hũ:.hũ]	/huhu/	'breast'
	[hũ:. ra]	/hura/	'ten'

- d. Unmarked vowel allophones as the default form commonly occur in the environment other than those of points a, b and c. They occur in closed

monosyllabic words, unstressed closed syllables following the stressed syllable and the final open syllable. This generalization is illustrated in the following phonological rule:

$$(4) \quad /V/ \rightarrow V / \begin{array}{l} \#[C\_C]\# \\ [C\_C]\sigma \\ \_[\#]\sigma \end{array}$$

The allophonic variation that represents the default form can be illustrated as follows:

[i]	[diŋ]	/diŋ/	‘five’
	[‘wa:ri]	/wari/	‘root’
	[wi]	/wi/	‘mount/hill’
[e]	[‘keŋ.koŋ]	/kengkoŋ/	‘rattan’
	[‘mie.taŋ]	/mietəŋ/	‘black’
	[‘ma:n.dep]	/mandep/	‘cloud’
	[‘ke:.ke]	/keke/	‘green’
[a]	[raŋ]	/raŋ/	‘I go’
	[‘ri:.ja]	/ria/	‘red’
	[rě.‘wa:.naŋ]	/rawanaŋ/	‘sea’
[o]	[tõ.‘pi:.no]	/topino/	‘how’
	[koŋ]	/kong/	‘COM’
	[wĩ.‘ra:.ro]	/wiraro/	‘forest’
[u]	[‘to:.ru]	/toru/	‘three’
	[juŋ]	/juŋ/	‘I drink’

### 2.2.2. Diphthong phonemes

Diphthongs are also common in Woi. There are 13 diphthong phonemes /iu, io, ia, ie, ei, ai, ae, au, ou, oi, ua, ui, and uo/ attested in Woi. Not all combinations are attested to form a diphthong. The combinations that are not attested are: \*ue, \*eu, \*ea, \*eo, \*ao, \*oe, \*oa. The following are some diphthong minimal pairs in Woi.

[hǎj]	/hai/	‘cry’
[hěj]	/hei/	‘smell’
[hǔj]	/hui/	‘closed’
[hõj]	/hoi/	‘swim’
[yõw]	/you/	‘1SG lift up’
[yǎw]	/yau/	‘I’

[rirǎw]	/ririau/	‘marry’
[rirǔj]	/ririui/	‘collect’
[rǒj]	/roy/	‘sing’
[rǔo]	/ruo/	‘2SG want’

The diphthongs are treated as single syllabic nucleus phonemes as they may distinguish the meaning of the words as in the minimal pairs above.

Phonetically, a diphthong has the first vowel of VV shortened in realization. The shortened realization is predictable according to the following phonological rule:

(5) /VV/ → [V[+short]]V

Note that when there are three vowels which make up a phoneme as in the words [rirǎw] ‘marry’ and [rirǔj] ‘collect’, both the first two vowels in the sequence must be shortened.

The shortened realization occurs in order to adjust the length of nucleus to a moderate duration such as a vocalic nucleus. For instance, in the vocalic nucleus, the length may range from 0.232 (stressed syllable) to 0.181 (unstressed syllable) in the word [‘ma:.nu] ‘house’; while in the diphthong nucleus, such as in the word [‘rǎw.kǔo] ‘neck’, the duration ranges from 0.220 (in stressed syllable) to 0.194 (in unstressed syllable). Note that a diphthong nucleus in a stressed syllable is not lengthened, as the duration of a diphthong nucleus is already long. The diphthongs are illustrated in the following words:

[ĩ]	[rǐu.kɑ.‘mi:]	/riukami/	‘head’
	[hǐun.ta.‘ra:i]	/hinyontarai/	‘person’
	[‘mǐo.ma]	/mioma/	‘small’
	[‘ra:.rǐeŋ]	/rariŋ/	‘ash’
	[‘ka:.hǐe]	/kahie/	‘[1SG]tie’
[ě]	[‘a:.rǐaŋ]	/ariaŋ/	‘child’
	[‘te:.pěj]	/tepej/	‘thick’
[ǎ]	[‘ma:.těj]	/matei/	‘[1SG]fear’
	[‘to:.bǎj]	/tobai/	‘lake’
	[‘me:.hǎiŋ]	/mehaiŋ/	‘sharp’
	[‘wa:m.pǎj]	/wampai/	‘there.DIST.SG’
	[pǎw]	/pau/	‘many’
	[‘ǎj.bǔoŋ]	/aibuŋ/	‘fruit’

[õ]	['te:rõj]	/teroy/	'long'
	[kas.'wõj.ri]	/kasewoiri/	'worm'
	['ma:hõj]	/mahoi/	'sit'
	[hõj]	/hoi/	'[1SG]swim'
[ũ]	['kũj.ra]	/kuira/	'all'
	['mũa.na]	/muana/	'four'
	[mũaŋ]	/muəŋ/	'man'
	['ha:mũiŋ]	/hamuiŋ/	'grasses'
	[ka.'ru:.pũj]	/karupuy/	'back'
	['ãj.bũoŋ]	/aybuoŋ/	'fruit'

When the second vowel of a diphthong is either /i/ or /u/ in an open syllable, they are phonetically realized as approximants [j] and [w] as in the word [pãw] 'many' or [hõj] 'swim'.

### 2.2.3. Consonant phonemes

Wooi has sixteen contrastive consonantal phonemes occurring in bilabial, alveolar, palatal, velar and glottal places of articulations. In the bilabial place of articulation stops, nasals, fricatives and glides are distinguished, whereas only stops and nasals are distinguished at the velar place of articulation. In the alveolar place of articulation stops, nasals, a fricative, and a trill are distinguished. In the palatal place of articulation, nasal, an affricate and glides are distinguished. Only a fricative sound occurs in the glottal place of articulation. Table 2.4 presents the consonant phonemes in Wooi.

Table 2.4. The consonantal phonemes in Wooi.

Consonantal phonemes										
	Bilabial		Alveolar		Palatal		Velar		Glottal	
Stop	p (p)	b (b)	t (t)	d (d)			k (k)			
Nasal		m (m)		n (n)		ɲ (ny)		ŋ (ng)		
Fricative		β (v)	s (s)						h (h)	
Affricate					c (c)					
Trill				r (r)						
Glides	w (w)				j (j)					

The sounds represented in brackets (...) shows the orthography system developed for Wooi.<sup>1</sup> Phonemically, the orthography in Wooi is a one-to-one representation with the phoneme system. Unless necessary, all representations in this chapter are phonemic.

Voicing contrasts are restricted in occurrence in terms of place of articulation, only occurring for bilabial and alveolar stops.

Some consonant phonemes can be described in minimal pairs or near minimal pairs as in (6).

(6) Consonant minimal and near minimal pairs

Contrast	Word	Gloss
p~b~m~w~β	pa	‘DIST[NSG]’
	ba	‘[1SG]play’
	ma	‘hither’
	wa	‘canoe’
	βa	‘NEG’
t~d~n~h	tiŋ	‘vagina’

<sup>1</sup> The orthographic system was developed by the Wooi Documentation project in 2010. It was also desired by the Wooi community to use the most familiar orthographic system, which is the Indonesian system. Note that it is only the letter *v* that is different from Indonesian orthography. In Wooi, *v* is used to represent the voiced bilabial fricative /β/ sound. In the language documentation version, the phoneme /h/ is represented by two orthographic symbols, which are *h* and *hn*. The symbol *hn* is used to represent the nasalized allophone of phoneme *h*. For the principle of one-to-one representation between the phonemic and orthographic symbol, I only use one symbol *h* to represent the phoneme /h/.

	diŋ	‘five’
	niŋ	‘here’
	hiŋ	‘penis’
m~n	tamaŋ	‘axe’
	tanaŋ	‘short’
b~r	bia	‘[1SG]go down’
	ria	‘red’
d~r	doi	‘money’
	roi	‘[1SG]wash’
b~t	baba	‘big’
	tata	‘1PL.INC’
β~r	βaβiŋ	‘woman’
	rawiŋ	‘bay’
w~β	yawa	‘coral reef’
	yaβa	‘shelter’

### 2.1.3.1. Stops

Wooi has five stop consonants occurring in three places of articulation: bilabial, alveolar and velar. They are /p/, /b/ for bilabial, /t/, /d/ for alveolar and /k/ for velar. There is no voicing contrast in the velar place of articulation.

Bilabial stops mostly occur word-initially and word-medially. There is only one word in the corpus in which a voiceless bilabial stop occurs word-finally. The voiced bilabial stop never occurs word-finally, but does occur initially, as given in (7).

(7) Bilabial consonants in their distributed environment.

	Initial	Medial	Final
/p/	paw ‘many’	kapuŋ ‘tail’	mandep ‘cloud’
/b/	baj ‘I dig’	baba ‘big’	-

Bilabial stops, both voiced and voiceless, are always realized as such word-initially and word-medially, but they are unreleased word-finally as in the word *mandep* [‘ma:n.dep’] ‘cloud’, which is the only word in the whole corpus.

Alveolar stop sounds can only occur word-initially and word-medially. They never occur word-finally. The voiceless alveolar consonant can occur word-medially in an intervocalic environment and also in consonant cluster.

(8) Alveolar consonants and their distributed environments.

	Initial	Medial	Final
/t/	tiaŋ ‘fish’	atia ‘fire’	-
/d/	diŋ ‘five’	mandep ‘cloud’	-

The voiced consonant /d/ can only occur word-medially in a consonant cluster environment and there is also no case where it occurs intervocalically.

The velar consonant is voiceless /k/. It occurs word-initially and word-medially. It does not occur word-finally.

(9) Velar consonants and their distributed environments

	Initial	Medial	Final
/k/	karpiapa ‘rattan’	kakopa ‘soil’	-

**2.1.3.2. Nasals**

Wooi contrasts nasals in four places of articulation: bilabial, alveolar, palatal and velar. The distribution of the nasals is varied. The two front-most nasals, /m/ and /n/, have a wider distribution than the other nasals; they appear word-initially and word-medially – intervocalically and as part of a consonant cluster. They never occur word-finally, however. For the consonant clusters, bilabial and alveolar nasals are the first members of homorganic Nasal-Consonant (NC) clusters such as /mb/ and /nd/. The palatal nasal /ɲ/ is found in several words but is rare. It only occurs word-initially. The velar nasal /ŋ/ commonly occurs word-finally. It also occurs in consonant clusters word-medially, but there is no case where it occurs intervocalically. It also never occurs word-initially.



(10) Nasal consonants and their distributed environments

	Initial	Medial	Final
/m/	maria ‘water’	tamaŋ ‘axe’	-
/n/	nando ‘banana’	pindotu ‘lizard’	-
/ɲ/	noi ‘knife’	-	-
/ŋ/	-	pariŋkieŋ ‘sweet potato’	tiŋ ‘vagina’

**2.1.3.3. Fricatives**

Wooi has three phonemic fricatives, bilabial /β/, alveolar /s/ and glottal /h/. These fricative consonants can appear word-initially and word-medially, in particular, intervocalically. There is no evidence that they occur word-finally.

The glottal /h/ is phonetically realized as nasalized /h/ when it is followed by the high vowels /i/ and /u/. The nasalized allophone of /h/ follows the rule:

(11)  $h \rightarrow h [+nasal] / \_\_\_ V [+high]$

(12) Fricative sounds and their distributed environments

	Initial	Medial	Final
/β/	βa ‘NEG’	βaβiŋ ‘woman’	-
/s/	siu ‘nine’	korisi ‘one’	-
/h/	ha ‘day’	pihio ‘cucumber’	-

**2.1.3.4. Affricates**

There is only one affricate sound which is the voiceless affricate /c/. The sound occurs phonemically in one environment – word-medially, between vowels and/or in a consonant cluster. When it occurs word-initially, the phoneme is morpho-phonologically motivated, i.e. palatalization (see § 2.5.3 and § 6.3.2.3).

(13) Affricates and their distributed environments.

	Initial	Medial	Final
/c/	-	aicōj ‘stick’	-
	-	kamcēj ‘tomorrow’	

### 2.1.3.5. Trill

The trill /r/ occurs word-initially and word-medially, but it does not occur word-finally.

(14) The trill and its distributed environments

	Initial	Medial	Final
/r/	ria ‘blood’	kaitera ‘corn’	-

### 2.1.2.6. Glides

There are two glide sounds in Woori. They are the bilabial glide /w/ and the palatal glide /j/.

Both occur word-initially and word-medially. They never occur word-finally.

(15) Glide sounds and their distributed environments

	Initial	Medial	Final
/w/	wanaŋ ‘wind’	wonduwa ‘spear’	-
/j/	jawa ‘coral reef’	kuruja ‘thunder’	-

## 2.3. Phonotactics

### 2.3.1. Word templates

Word templates follow the basic syllable structure in Woori. Words can consist minimally of monosyllabic words to polysyllabic words. However, the syllable itself can consist of a single vowel minimally, and maximally include one onset, nucleus and one coda segment. The following represents the basic Woori syllable structure.

(16) (C)V(C)

Out of the basic syllable structure in (16), Woori has the following possible syllable structures:

- (17) a. V  
 b. VC  
 c. CV  
 d. CVC

The most common word templates in Woori are disyllabic and tri-syllabic words. Monosyllabic words are also frequently found. Polysyllabic words are found but not as frequently as other types.

Monosyllabic words represented in (17) are illustrated in (18).

(18) Monosyllabic words

V:	i	‘he/she’
CV:	ba	‘west’
CVC:	diŋ	‘five’

It is attested that VC structures are never found for monosyllabic words in Woori. Only the other three structures are attested, as exemplified in (18). The VC structure is only a syllabic domain. Thus, the VC structure can only occur as a syllable in a disyllabic or polysyllabic word.

Disyllabic words consist of some combinations of the basic syllable structure found in monosyllabic words. The following disyllabic words in (19) are found in Woori.

(19) Disyllabic words

V.V:	ae	‘leg’
V.VC	aeŋ	‘3SG leg’
V.CV:	itu	‘seven’
V.CVC	anaŋ	‘sago’
VC.CV	antu	‘child’
VC.VCV:	andauŋ	‘sago leaf’
CV.V:	siu	‘nine’
CV.CV:	poha	‘flood’
CV.CVC:	hamaŋ	‘buttock’
CVC.CV:	nando	‘banana’
CVC.CVC	kaŋkuŋ	‘hold’

The commonest disyllabic word template in Woori is the CV.CV structure. The CV.CVC, CVC.CV, and CVC.CVC structures are also common. Others are moderate in frequency.

VC structure is the least common structure found in Woori and it is only found in the first syllable of a word.

Trisyllabic words are also common in Woori. They can consist of different syllabic structures. Out of the trisyllabic structures found in Woori, the CV.CV.CV structure is the commonest one, although other structures such as CV.CVC.CVC, C.CV.CVC, CVC.CV.CV are also found frequently. Others are found in moderate frequency. Like in disyllabic words, the VC structure is rarely found. It only occurs in the first syllable of a trisyllabic word. The following are some examples of the trisyllabic words.

(20) Trisyllabic words in Woori

V.V.CV	aebu	'knee'
V.V.CVC	aebuon	'seed'
V.CV.V:	atia	'fire'
V.CV.CV:	arora	'rope'
V.CV.VC:	ariaun	'leaf'
V.CV.CVC:	asuraŋ	'pig'
VC.CV.CV	andita	'bread fruit'
CV.CV.V:	tatoa	'land slide'
CV.CV.CV:	kakopa	'soil'
CV.CV.CVC:	perimaŋ	'cold'
CVC.CV.CV:	mancewa	'k.o. vegetable'

Words with polysyllabic structure exist in Woori but they are not frequent. Some are compound words. The CV structure is the most frequent structure in polysyllabic words. V, VC and CVC are not common. The following are some polysyllabic words.

(21) Polysyllabic words in Woori

CV.CV.CV.CV:	pikarari	'mosquito'
CV.CV.CV.CVC:	paremayaŋ	'kind of arrow'
VC.CV.CV.CV.V:	amperaroi	'house lizard'
CV.CVC.CV.CV.V	hijontarai	'person'
CV.CV.V.CV	wariumu	'taro'
CV.CV.CV.CV.CV.CV	pihamatapapu	'frog'
CVC.CV.CV.CV	maŋkakopi	'hot'
CV.CV.CV.V	wowotai	'yellow'
CV.CV.CV.V.CV	kakemaui	'green of sea color'
CV.CV.CV.CV.V	rekapipie	'cloudy'

### 2.3.2. Consonant clusters

Consonant clusters are limited in Woi. Most consonant clusters are homorganic: stop [+stop] consonants cluster with nasal and trill consonants which are [+sonorant]. However, other clusters, which are non-homorganic, also occur although they are not as frequent as homorganic ones. They occur across a syllable boundary in which the coda of a syllable is adjacent to the onset of the following syllable.

Most consonant clusters are homorganic nasal-stop clusters. These clusters can involve either a voiced or voiceless stop as the second member of the cluster such as /mb/, /mp/, /nd/, /nt/, /ŋk/. These can be seen in the following examples:

(22) Examples of nasal consonant homorganic cluster in Woi

hum.be	‘machete’
hem.bai	‘moon’
am.pe	‘mid rib of coconut leaf’
an.di.ta	‘bread fruit’
wi.han.de	‘jungle’
an.tu	‘child’
maŋ.ko.ke.i	‘chicken’
pa.riŋ.kieŋ	‘sweet potato’

Besides these homorganic nasal-stop clusters, nasal consonants also may occur as the first element in non-homorganic nasal-stop pairs, such as /md/ as in the following example.

(23) ram.dem.pe            ‘yesterday’

There are also consonant clusters in which a nasal is followed by non-stop consonants, for example, /mr/, /mc, and also a cluster without a nasal element, e.g. /rp/.

(24) Examples of nasal-non-stop clusters and clusters without a nasal element.

kam.rei	‘hole’
kam.cei	‘tomorrow’
kar.pia.pa	‘rottan’

### 2.3.3. Vowel sequences

Unlike consonant clusters, vowel sequences are rare in Woi. There are only a limited number of vowel sequences, especially among the phonological words. They are considered to be sequence of vowels across syllables, i.e. the first vowel belongs to the stressed syllable and the second belongs to a separate syllable, regardless of whether the words are lexical words such as /kai/ ‘a kind of wooden spoon’ and /rea/ ‘again’ or morphological words such as /mate-i/ ‘who-SG’ and /pito-i/ ‘what-SG’. The following are features of vowel sequences in Woi:

- i. Not all vowels are attested to occur in sequences.
- ii. Sequences consisting of high-non-high vowels in either direction are common. Low-low and low-mid vowels are expected but not common.
- iii. High-non-high value does not account for the frequency of occurrence, although /ai/ and /ia/ seem to be the most common vowel sequences in occurrence.
- iv. Some sequences, i.e. /ao/, /eu/, /oe/, /eo/ never occur in the corpus.

Table 2.5 presents the possible sequences and their frequency of occurrence in the corpus.

Table 2.5. Possible vowel sequences in Wooi occurred in 301 words in the corpus.

	a	e	i	o	u
a	-	a.e (2) /mae/ 'but'	a.i (78) /kai/ 's.k. of wooden spoon'	-	a.u (31) /ariaung/ 'leaf'
e	e.a (1) /rea/ 'again'	-	e.i (11) /matei/ 'who-SG'	-	-
i	i.a (58) /ria/ 'red'	i.e (29) /hieha/ 'comparative'	-	i.o (25) /kio/ 'a species of Guinea Fowl'	i.u (8) /siu/ 'nine'
o			o.i (33) /pitoi/ 'what-SG'	-	
u			u.i (25) /tapui/ 'grand generation'		-

### 2.3.4. Phoneme distribution

Vowels are the most widely distributed phonemes in Wooi phonology. They can occur everywhere in words, initially, medially and finally.

Table 2.6. Distribution of vowels in words.

vowels	initial	medial	final
/a/	/aya/ 'bird'	/matei/ 'who'	/beba/ 'big'
/e/	/eha/ 'some'	/tenang/ 'short'	/ne/ 'POSS'
/i/	/i/ 'he/she/it'	/ding/ 'five'	/meni/ 'thin'
/o/	-	/hore/ 'mouth'	/reho/ 'see'
/u/	/utu/ 'louse'	/mamuni/ 'fight'	/haru/ '3DU'

There is no word in the corpus beginning with the vowel phoneme /o/. The phoneme /o/ only occurs word-medially and word-finally.

As for diphthong phonemes (D), they appear in both open and closed syllables, and are also distributed in elsewhere in words ranging from monosyllabic to polysyllabic words. They may become the nucleus of the stressed syllable as in (h-k) and also the nucleus of the unstressed ones (a, b, d, f, g). This is illustrated in Table 2.7.

Table 2.7. Diphthongs and their distribution

		[D]	[CD]	[CDC]
a	/ai/	-	['ta:.rǎj] 'meat'	-
b	/ei/	-	['ma:.těj] '1SG fear'	-
c	/oi/	-	[hǒj] '1SG swim'	-
d	/ui/	-	[ka.'ru:.pǔj] 'back'	-
e	/ia/	-	[hĩa] '3PL'	[mĩaŋ.'ri:.rĩu] 'warm'
f	/ie/		['ka:.hĩe] '1SG tie'	['ra:.rĩeŋ] 'ash'
g	/iu/		[rĩu.ka.'mi] 'head'	-
h	/io/	-	['mĩo:.ma] 'small'	-
i	/ua/	-	['mũa:.na] 'fine'	-
j	/au/	-	[pǎw] 'many'	['ran.dǎuŋ] 'leaf'
k	/uo/	-	['rǎw:kũo] 'neck'	[bũoŋ] 'fruit'
l	/ou/	-	['wi:.jǒw] 'smoke'	-
m	/ue/	-	-	['ha:.,mũeŋ] 'grass'
n	/ae/	-	-	-

Consonant phonemes and their distributions including examples are discussed in detail in §2.2.3. An overview of the distribution is illustrated in Table 2.8. The coda position is very restricted: only one voiced velar nasal /ŋ/ is allowed to be in the coda position. This phoneme is not allowed to occur elsewhere. The voiceless palatal nasal /ɲ/ is restricted to the initial position. It is only the phoneme /p/ that is distributed word-initially, medially and finally.

Table 2.8. Consonant phonemes and their distributions

	p	b	t	d	k	m	n	ɲ	ŋ	β	s	h	c	r	w	j
Word-initial (onset)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Word-medial (onset)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Word-final (coda)	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-



## 2.4. Basic stress patterns

This section presents a preliminary analysis of Wooi stress patterns. Basic observable stress patterns are found in both phonological and morphological words (see also §2.2.1). In Wooi, stress is measured by the intensity, loudness and duration of the vowel of the stressed syllable in contrast to those of unstressed syllable(s). So, stress assignment results in a long vowel with high intensity. A syllable is considered to be stressed when it has high intensity of sound loudness and a long vowel. Long vowels attracting stress are discussed phonetically in §2.2.1.

There are two common stress patterns in Wooi, i.e. penultimate stress and syllable final stem stress. Penultimate stress is a dominant pattern over the syllable final stem stress. This pattern is a common pattern in other languages of this area (van den Heuvel 2006, Price and Donohue 2007, Gasser 2014). Further, Wolff (1993) hypothetically argues that penultimate stress may derive from proto-Austronesian stress pattern.

### 2.4.1. Penultimate stress

The dominant stress pattern in Wooi is for primary stress to occur on the penultimate syllable. Penultimate stress is then considered as the default stress pattern in Wooi. This stress pattern may occur in phonological and morphological words. Morphological words count all pre-verbal affixations as stress dependent; while post-verbal element are stress independent.

In (25), examples show the penultimate stress in the disyllabic phonological words.

- (25) ['ma:.nu]      'house'  
      ['kĩa.ha]     'smooth'  
      ['ki:.kĩe]    'near'  
      ['e:.ha]      'some'

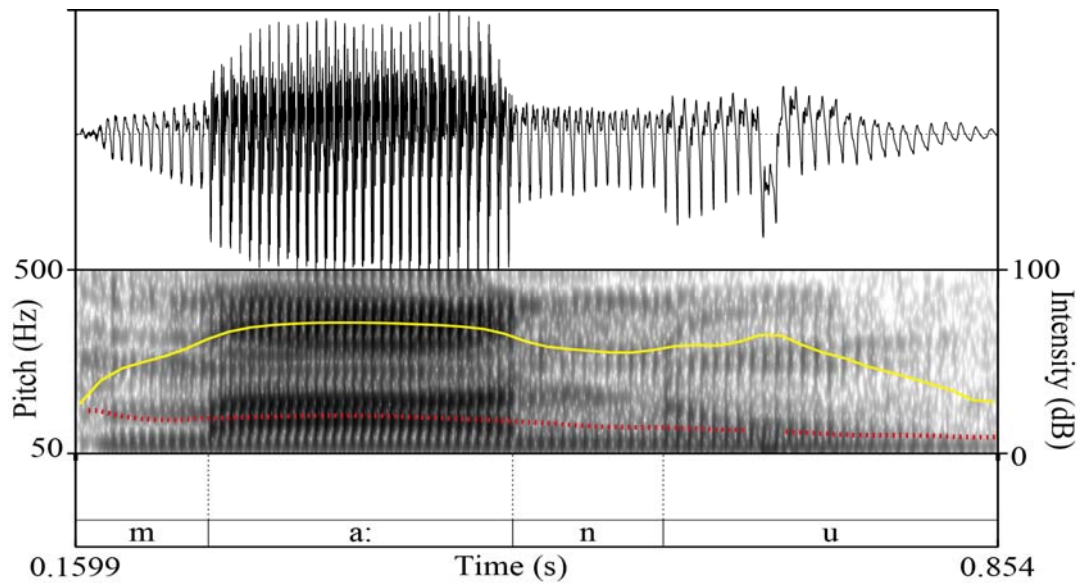


Figure 2.1. Spectrogram of Penultimate stress in the word ['ma:.nu] 'house'.

Figure 2.1 shows that the stressed syllable gets the high intensity (85.56dB) and vowel length (0.230 seconds) if compared to those of the non-stressed syllable (80.46dB) and (0.213 seconds).

In (26), examples show penultimate stress in the trisyllabic and polysyllabic phonological words.

- (26) [kõ.'ri:.si] 'one'  
 [tõ.'pi:.no] 'how'  
 [βã.rã.'pe:.ma] 'wing'  
 [rĩ.rĩ.'e:.ri] 'straight'

Note that polysyllabic compound words have primary and secondary stress. The stress pattern is basically predictable as it follows the penultimate stress pattern regardless of the length of the words. In (27), the primary stress (more prominent) is in the penultimate position and the second syllable preceding the penultimate stress counts as the secondary stress (less prominent).

- (27) [,ma.rja.'ra:.ro] 'river'  
 [,ta.ra.'kam.rěj] 'ear'

Most verbs that take regular morphological inflection in Wooi are assigned the default stress placement, i.e. penultimate stress. This suggests that the pre-verbal markers, i.e. subject marker and applicative marker, are considered part of the phonological word stress placement. The post-verbal marker, i.e. a clitic, does not attract stress. Verbs in (28) illustrate the default stress placement.

- |      |                  |  |                          |
|------|------------------|--|--------------------------|
| (28) | [ 'jam.pi]       |  | 'I ate (something)'      |
|      | [bu. 'am.pi]     |  | 'you ate (something)'    |
|      | [he. 'tam.pi]    |  | 'they ate (something)'   |
|      | [ 'mo:.ri]       |  | 'you laugh'              |
|      | [ 'me:.ri]       |  | 'he/she laugh'           |
|      | [hu. 'mo.ri]     |  | 'they (two) laugh'       |
|      | [bi. 'u:.i.i]    |  | 'he/she blew it'         |
|      | [tan. 'te.ta.ri] |  | 'I make it stumble down' |

The same default pattern applies for verbs taking the applicative marker. The stress is always on the first syllable of the stem.

- |      |                    |                  |                            |
|------|--------------------|------------------|----------------------------|
| (29) | [im. 'pe.ra.ni]    | {im-perang=i}    | 'I use (it) to cut it'     |
|      | [bu.im. 'pe.ra.ni] | {bu-im-perang=i} | 'you use (it) to cut it'   |
|      | [ti.ng. 'ka.pa.ri] | {ti-ing-kapa=i}  | 'he/she uses (it) to kick' |

The clitic =i in (28) which is realized as [=ni] and [=ri] behaves differently. It does not attract stress in Wooi so the stress remains in the penultimate syllable of the verb stems.

The stress pattern in the morphological word can be seen in Figure 2.2.

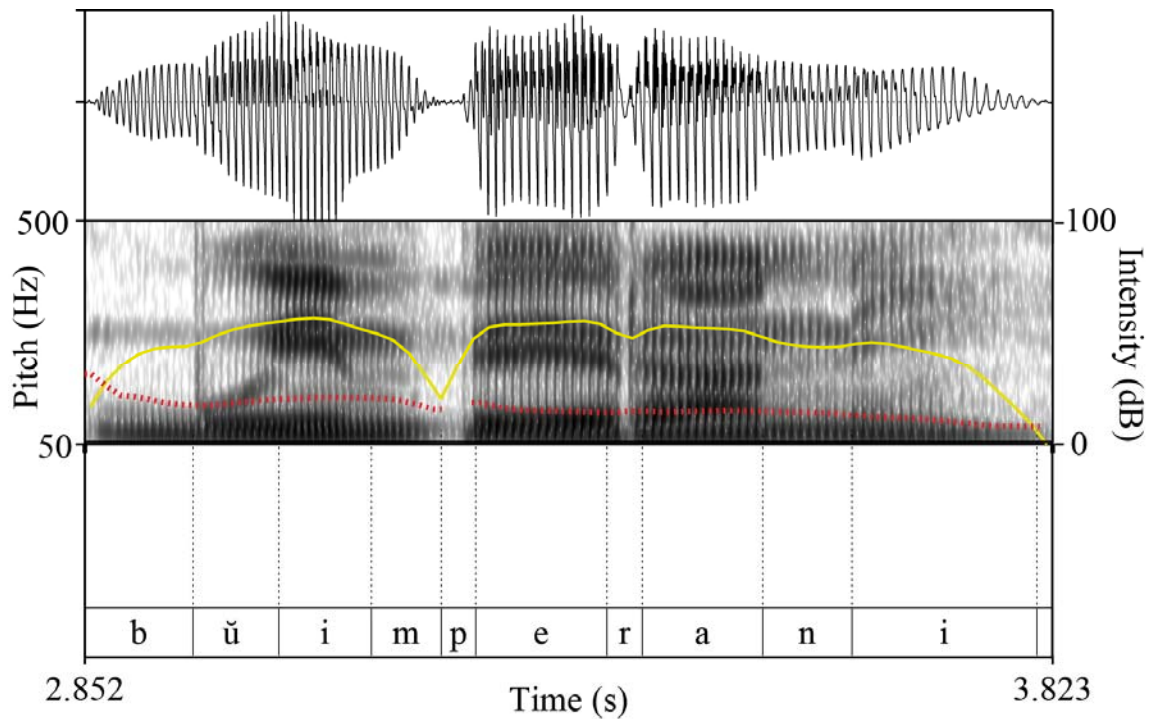


Figure 2.2. The penultimate stress in the morphological word [bũim. 'pe:ra.ni] {2SG-APPL-cut-it} ‘you used it to cut it’.

In Figure 2.2, morphological word such as *buímpalani* ‘you used it to cut it’ keeps the high intensity (77.58 dB) and the vowel length (0.137 seconds).

Examples in (29) apply the same pattern for the verb without non-applicative markers such as in (30).

- (30) [ 'pe:raŋ]      ‘I cut’  
       [ 'ka:pa]      ‘I kick’

This is to conclude that morphological words such as verbs in Woori behave differently from phonological words in attracting stress. All affixations occurring pre-verbally are stress dependent. They attract stress, while post-verbal elements, i.e. a clitic which is syntactically determined, does not attract stress.

### 2.4.2. Syllabic-final stress

The second stress pattern in Woori is the syllabic-final stress pattern. The syllabic final refers to the final syllable of the word stem in which the stress is placed. This pattern is found in noun and verb word classes.

Some nouns, mainly disyllabic words, have stress on the final syllable. These words end with the high front vowel /i/. In this case, the vowel /i/ attracts stress to the final syllable.

- (31) [ka.'mi:] 'stone'  
[me.'ni:] 'thin'  
[a.'mi:] 'mother'  
[he.'wi:] 'rainbow'  
[mun.'di:] 'earthquake'

Syllabic-final stress is also found in nouns referring to body parts. All body part words end with a syllable with the arrangement of CV(C) in which the initial C is a sonorant sound. In this case, the more sonorous is the sound in the second syllable, the more the syllable gets a possibility of being stressed. As all body parts have sonorant sounds in the second syllable, the syllable is stressed, as in (32).

- (32) [ho.'re:] 'my mouth'  
[te.'re:] 'my teeth'  
[a.'je:] 'my legs'  
[βa.'ra:] 'my hands'  
[ha.'ne:] 'my stomach'

Figure 2.3 gives an illustration of the final syllabic stress pattern in the body part noun ending with the C sonorant sound.

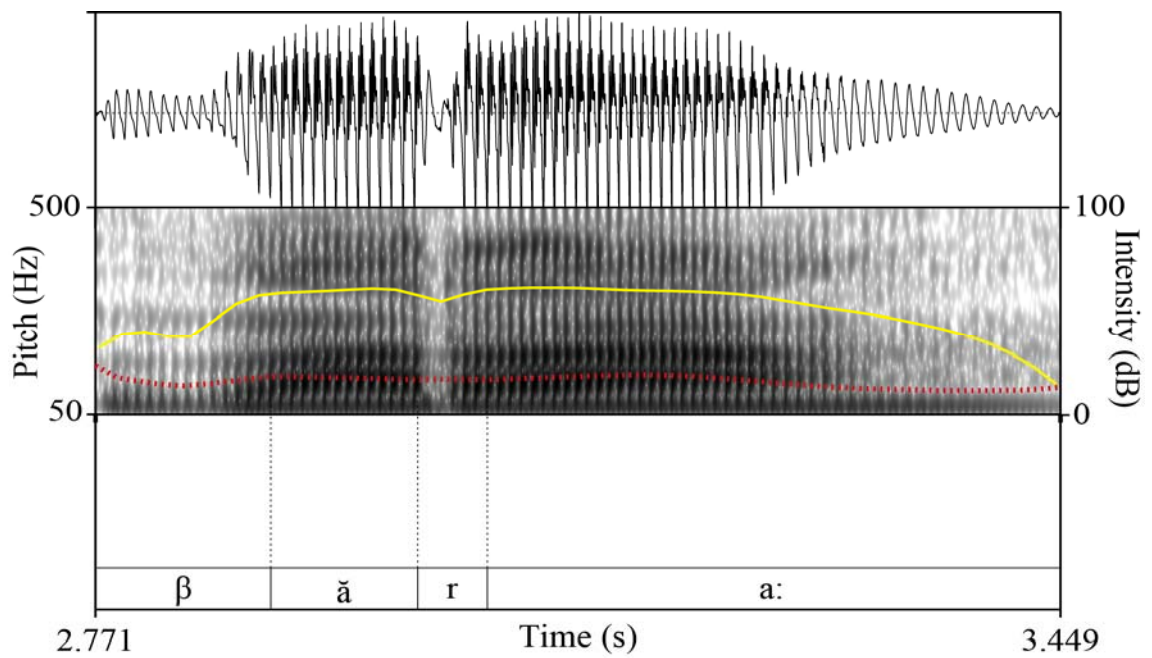


Figure 2.3. The syllabic final stress in the word [βǎ.'ra:] 'my hands'

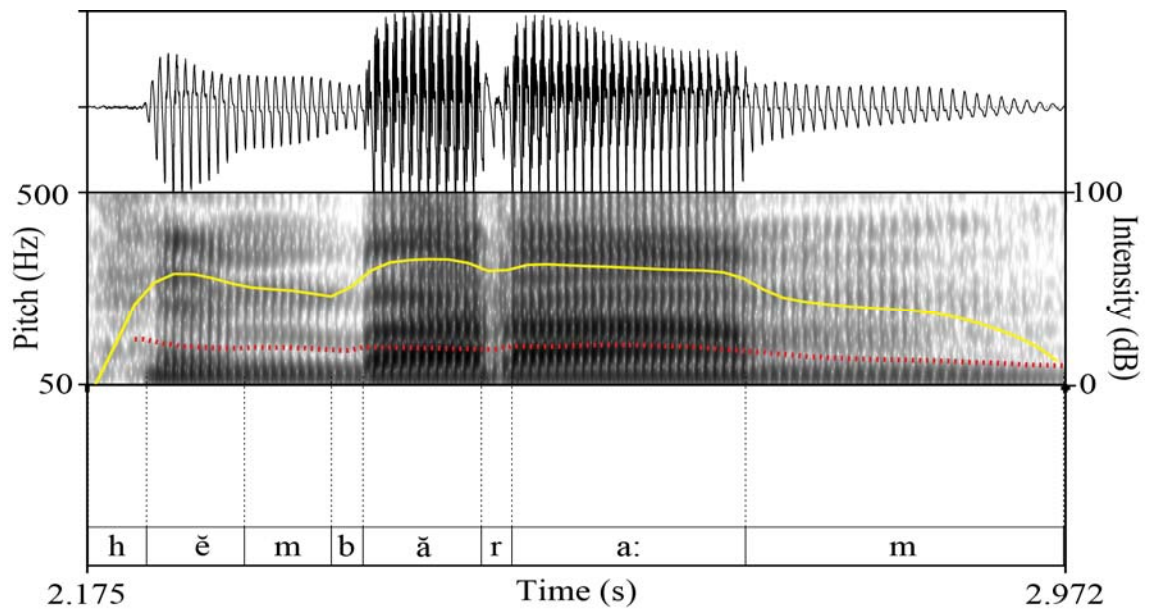


Figure 2.4. The syllable final stress in the morphological word [hěm.bǎ.'ra:m] 'their hands'.

Although inflectional and derivational processes occur, the stress is always on the final syllable of the stem as illustrated in the spectrogram in Figure 2.4. Neither affixation nor compounding affect the position of the stress.<sup>2</sup>

(33)	[hõ.'re:mu]	{hore-mu}	'your mouth'
	[hõ.'re:ta.pa.re]	{hore-tapare}	'my/his/hertongue'
	[ã.'je:bu]	{ae-bu}	'my knee'
	[βã.'ra:mu]	{vara-mu}	'your hands'
	[βã.'ra:ti]	{vara-ti}	'my fingers'
	[hũ.sã.'nem]	{hu-r-hane-m}	'their (two) stomachs'
	[hẽm.bã.'ram]	{he-t-vara-m}	'their hands'

The morphological analysis {...} shows morpheme breaks of each morphological word, clearly indicating that stress is not affected by morphological process.

The syllabic-final stress also occurs in verbs with possessive morphology. This type of verb is morphologically complex, consisting of stem, person marking and verbalized marking. The complete structure of this type of verb is given in Chapter 6. The stress is assigned in the verbalized marker and is not counted for the stem, subject suffixes and object enclitic.

(34)	a.	[rẽ.'ho]	{re-ho}	'I saw'
		[tã.rã.'ho]	{tara-ho}	'I heard'
		[hõ.'ho]	{ho-ho}	'I smelt'
	b.	[rã.rã.mũ.'ho]	{rara-mu-ho}	'you heard'
		[hõ.mũ.'ho]	{ho-mu-ho}	'you smelt'
	c.	[rẽ.'ho.i]	{re-ho=i}	'I saw him/her/it'
		[rẽ.mũ.'ho.i]	{re-mu-ho=i}	'you saw it'
		[hẽn.dẽ.'ho.i]	{he-t-re-ho=i}	'they saw it'
		[hõ.mũ.'ho.i]	{ho-mu-ho=i}	'you smelt it'

<sup>2</sup> If a compound word has more than four syllables such as *haretapare* 'tongue', there might be secondary stress and it follows the syllable structure. This needs further research as my analysis is still preliminary and is based on very limited data.

In (34), all affixations are considered as the internal structure of words so that they attract stress. The stress occurs on the verbalized marking *-ho*, which is considered a final syllable of the words. Anything after *-ho* does not attract stress.

## 2.5. (Morpho-)phonology

In Wooi complex morpho-phonological processes play a significant role in verbal, nominal and demonstrative morphology. These processes mostly occur with affixation and cliticization. Affixation, which is typically prefixation, results in quite significant changes in the phonetic realization of morphemes, while cliticization does not result in such changes. The changes are metathesis, vowel deletion, palatalization, vowel merger, vowel retention, fortition, lenition, nasal assimilation and consonant insertion.

The following phonological properties in Wooi are important for morpho-phonological processes:

1. Phonological shape of the stems: Vowel-initial stem (V-initial) vs. Consonant-initial stem (C-initial).
2. Syllable structure: number of syllables, especially in verbal morphology.
3. Coda of open-syllable word: clitics in nouns and demonstratives.

Most of the morpho-phonological processes are restricted to the morphology of certain word classes. Palatalization, for instance, only occurs with morphologically complex verb stems, in particular when the third person singular marker, *ti-*, is prefixed to a disyllabic verb stem. The same sequence of phonemes does not undergo palatalization in other morphological contexts. This palatalization and other morpho-phonological processes will be discussed in detail in the chapter on verbal morphology (Chapter 6). In what follows, their morpho-phonological rules with brief descriptions are given.



### 2.5.1. Metathesis

Metathesis is understood as a process by which the linear ordering of segments switches (Hume 1997). This can be either phonologically or morphologically conditioned. In Woi, metathesis is phonologically conditioned and occurs in verbal morphology. The conditions under which metathesis occurs are:

- a. shape of verb stem (C-initial verb stem)
- b. syllable structure (consonant cluster)

Under condition (a), metathesis occurs with the C-initial verb stem. It never occurs with the V-initial verb stem. Under metathesis, the underlying prefixed subject markers undergo metathesis to become the infix subject markers. The metathesis must then be under condition (b) in order to satisfy the syllable structure rule in Woi. Woi does not allow consonant clusters in the onset position. Thus, it results in consonant deletion of the subject marker. This is illustrated in (35).

(35) *kavio* ‘talk’

Underlying Form:	bu- ‘2SG’ + <i>kavio</i> ‘talk’
Metathesis:	k<bu>avio
Consonant deletion:	b > $\emptyset$ (constrained by the CC cluster)
Vowel merger:	u+a > o
Surface Form:	<i>kovio</i> ‘you talked’

Note that vowel merger occurs in a certain phonological condition that will be further explained in §2.5.4.

The V-initial verb stem does not allow metathesis. The prefixed subject marker simply attaches to the verb stem, as in (36).





#### 2.5.4. Vowel merger

Vowel merger is a phonological process in which two vowels with different features are merged to a single vowel. The following is the phonological rule of vowel merger:

$$(42) \quad V + V \rightarrow V$$

In Woori, vowel merger also occurs in verbal morphology. In general, it occurs in the V-initial and the C-initial verb stems in which the high vowels of the prefixed-subject markers meet the initial low vowel of the verb stems, resulting in mid-vowel outcomes. The following is the phonological process:

(43) *bowe* ‘2SG-look for’

Underlying Form:            bu- ‘2SG’ + awe ‘look for’

Vowel merger:              u+a > o (mid vowel adaptation)

Surface Form:                bowe ‘you look for’

Further description and examples are given in §6.3.1.

#### 2.5.5. Vowel retention

Vowel retention is a phonological process in which two vowels are kept in the phonological realization although there are possibilities of other vowel adaptations such as vowel deletion or vowel reduction.

In Woori, when the prefixed-subject markers attach to mono- and disyllabic verb stems, both in V-initial and C-initial stems, the vowels of the prefixes undergo vowel retention and together with the vowels of the stems form a vowel sequence /VV/ within a morphological verb. The following is the process:

(44) *buena* ‘2SG sleep’

Underlying Form: bu- ‘2SG’ + -ena ‘sleep’

Vowel retention: u+e > ue (constraint by selected number of syllable)

Surface Form: buena ‘you sleep’

Further discussion on vowel retention is given in §6.3.1.

### 2.5.6. Fortition

Fortition is a phonological process that results in a sound to be less sonorant. The following is the phonological rule of fortition:

(45) C [+sonorant] → C [-/less sonorant]

In Woori, fortition occurs mainly in verbal and nominal morphology. It occurs when the prefixed dual and plural subjects attach to the C-initial stems of verbs and nouns that begin with /h/, /r/, and /β/. The following is the phonological process:

(46) *husinyam* ‘their (DU) mothers’

Underlying Form: hu-r- ‘3DU-DU’ + -hinya ‘mother’ + -m ‘NSG.PSR’

Fortition: r + h > s

Surface Form: husinyam ‘their (DU) mothers’

(47) *hembaram* ‘their hands’

Underlying Form: he-t- ‘3PL-PL’ + vara ‘hand’ + -m ‘NSG.PSR’

Fortition: t + v > b

Nasal assimilation: t + b > mb

Surface Form: hambaram ‘their hands’

More on fortition process and examples are given in §6.3.3.



Verbs:

- (50) /hetkavio/ → {he-t-kavio} → [heŋkavio] = *hengkavio* ‘they talk’  
3PL-PL-talk
- (51) /turperang/ → {tu-r-perang} → [tumperang] = *tumperang* ‘we (two) cut’  
1DU.INC-DU-cut
- (52) /hurtapui/ → {hu-r-tapu=i} → [huntapuri] = *huntapuri* ‘they (two)  
3DU-DU-catch=3SG caught him/her/it’

Nouns:

- (53) /hettamami/ → {he-t-tama-m-i} → [hentamami] = *hentamami* ‘their father’  
3PL-PL-father-NSG.PSR-SG.PSS

Demonstrative adverbs:

- (54) /wangpai/ → {wang-pa-i} → [wampai] = *wampai* ‘there’  
there.2-DIST-SG

Nasal assimilation is further described as parts of different chapters in this thesis, i.e. demonstrative adverbs (§3.3.4 and §13.4), possessive constructions (chapter 5), and verbal morphology (chapter 6).

### 2.5.9. Consonant insertion

Consonant insertion is the phonological process in which a consonant is inserted in between two vowels. This process only occurs when the clitic =i ‘3SG’ attaches to the vowels of open-syllabic words. The phonological rule is illustrated as follows:

- (55) Zero → C / V + \_\_ =i (clitic)

Syllable structure may be taken into account for this process. This is further discussed in §6.7.

# Chapter 3 – Word classes

## 3.1. Introduction

This chapter gives an overview of word classes in Woori. These word classes are defined on the basis of semantic, morphological, syntactic and pragmatic criteria (Brown and Miller 1999: xiv). The semantic criteria refer to the semantic content of lexical words. Morphological criteria are used to define word classes based on word-internal processes, mainly inflectional processes. Syntactic criteria distinguish word classes on the basis of their syntactic distribution in phrases and clauses (Evans 2000, Dixon and Aikhenvald 2002, Rijkhoff 2007), and pragmatic criteria on the basis of how speakers use the language in various discourse contexts.

The assignment of words to different word classes in Woori is based mainly on these grammatical properties, rather than the semantic ones. Based on such criteria, a number of different word classes can be established for Woori and these can be grouped into two broad types, namely major and minor word classes. These two general classes are primarily distinguished on the basis of their lexical semantics. Major classes of words are defined as open word classes or those including content words. They are open because they are productive in that new members can be added that take on the morphological and syntactic properties of the class. Words in the major word classes are also content words which bear the main semantic content.

Minor classes of words refer to small closed sets of functional or grammatical words. These classes are not productive in the same way as the major classes of words. They are also limited with respect to the numbers in each class. For instance, personal



pronouns in English are restricted to certain sets of words and they are not productive in having new members into the pronominal class. The different word classes and their grammatical properties are given in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1. Word classes and their grammatical properties in Woori.

<b>WORD CLASSES IN WOORI</b>																					
	<b>MAJOR</b>												<b>MINOR</b>								
	<b>NOUN</b>												<b>VERB</b>				<b>INTERROGATIVE WORDS</b>	<b>NUMERALS AND QUANTIFIERS</b>	<b>PREPOSITION</b>	<b>DEICTICS</b>	<b>PARTICLES</b>
	<b>COMMON NOUNS</b>		<b>KIN TERMS AND BODY PARTS</b>		<b>PERSONAL PRONOUNS</b>		<b>PROPER NAMES</b>	<b>ABSTRACT NOUNS</b>	<b>DEMONSTRATIVES</b>	<b>QUESTION WORDS</b>	<b>ACTION VERBS</b>	<b>ADJECTIVAL VERBS</b>	<b>DERIVED VERBS</b>	<b>VERBS WITH POSSESSIVE</b>							
			<b>FREE</b>	<b>BOUND</b>																	
<b>Morphological properties</b>																					
Possessive construction	X	X	-	-	X	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-				
Person marking	-	X	X	X	-	X	-	-	X	X	X	X	-	-	-	-	-				
Number marking	-	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	-	-	-	X	-				
Subject controlled agreement	X	X	X	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-				
Pronominal copy	X	X	X	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-				
<b>Syntactic properties</b>																					
Argument function	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-				
The Head of NP	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X													
NP modifier function	X	-	-	-	X	-	X	X	-	-	-	-	X	X	-	X	-				
Predicative function	X	X	-	-	X	X	-	-	X	X	X	X	-	-	-	-	-				
Clausal modifier	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	X				
<b>Pragmatic properties</b>																					
Focus and topic function	X	X	X	-	X	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	X				

Both major and minor word classes are discussed in some detail in this chapter but further details are also given in various relevant chapters of the thesis, including nouns (§3.2.1) and verbs (§3.2.2); and for minor word classes, other interrogative words (§3.3.1), numerals and quantifiers (§3.3.2), prepositions (§3.3.3), deitics (§3.3.4), and particles (§3.3.5).

## **3.2. Major word classes**

The two major word classes in Wooi are nouns and verbs, which are each divided into several sub-classes. The distinction between nouns and verbs, as well as the sub-classes within each of these classes, are semantically definable, but they are also determined by different grammatical properties (see Luuk 2010, Evans and Osada 2005). Nouns are subcategorized into seven sub-classes, which are common nouns, kinship terms/body parts, proper names, abstract nouns, personal pronouns, demonstratives and question words. Verbs have four sub-classes: action verbs, adjectival verbs, derived verbs and verbs with possessive morphology.

### **3.2.1. Nouns**

#### **3.2.1.1. Criteria identifying nouns**

In general, nouns in Wooi refer semantically to an entity or an object: a person, a thing, a place (Evans 2000: 710). They can be divided into several sub-classes, which are common nouns, kinship terms/body parts, proper names, abstract nouns, personal pronouns, demonstratives, and interrogatives. Nouns in Wooi are also best characterized by their syntactic and morphological properties. Syntactically, all nouns function as the head of NPs and as arguments of predicates. Most nouns share a number of morphological properties,

including taking possessor-possessee markers in possessive constructions, and number marking.

### 3.2.1.1.1. Morphological properties

In Wooi, nouns have the following morphological properties:

- a. Possessive marking;
  - b. Person and number marking
- (a) Possessive marking

The prototypical morphological properties of nouns are that they can occur in possessive constructions, and that they take number marking. Most nouns may be morphologically possessed directly or indirectly as exemplified in (1a) and (b).

- (1)
- a. *Tamani*  
tama-n-i  
father-3SG.PSR-SG.PSS  
'His/her father.'
  
  - b. *Hene*            *wa*  
he-ne            wa  
3PL-POSS       canoe  
'Their canoe.'

Kinship terms and body parts are directly possessed; while other nouns are indirectly possessed. Further description of possessive constructions is given in Chapter 5.

- (b) Person and Number marking

Number marking is the other prototypical morphological property of nouns (see Corbett 2000, Palmer 2012). Some nouns from most sub-classes can be marked for number. Nouns such as proper names, common nouns in a possessive construction, and some question words take number marking. Number marking distinguishes singular from non-singular: singular is overtly marked, while non-singular is unmarked.

In possessive constructions, *Wooi* marks number both for possessor and possessee. Number marking for the possessor is overtly marked for both singular and non-singular. However, the possessee is marked for singular but unmarked for non-singular. Further discussion of marking number in possessive constructions is given in §5.4. In (2), number marking clearly shows that the singular possessed noun is overtly marked with the number marker *-i* as in (a); while non-singular number is unmarked as in (b).

- (2) a. *Hentamami*  
 he-tama-m-i  
 3PL-father-NSG.PSR-SG.PSS  
 ‘Their father.’
- b. *Hentamam*  
 he-tama-m  
 3PL-father-NSG.PSR[NSG.PSS]  
 ‘Their fathers.’

Person-number marking is another morphological property that occurs in possessive constructions, and so is associated with one sub-class of nouns, namely kinship and body-part nouns and also with common nouns with different possessive constructions. Kinship and body-part nouns are morphologically bounded with person-number marking as in (3). Whereas, common nouns take person-number marking in the phrasal possessive construction as in (4).

- (3) *Hesinyami*  
**he**-hinya-m-i  
 3PL.PSR-mother-NSG.PSR-SG.PSS  
 ‘Their mother.’
- (4) *Tane*                      *manu*  
**ta**-ne                      manu  
 1PL.INC.PSR-POSS      house  
 ‘Our house.’

The person-number marking with nouns is formally identical to that found in the verbal morphology, as discussed in chapter 6.

Number marking with other subclasses of nouns is discussed in a separate subsection of the chapter: common nouns in §3.2.1.2, personal pronouns in §3.2.1.3, proper names in §3.2.1.4, demonstratives in §3.2.1.5, and question words in §3.2.1.6.

### 3.2.1.1.2. Syntactic properties

The following are the syntactic properties of nouns:

- a. They can function as arguments
- b. They can function as head of an NP, and often as NP modifiers

#### (a) Nouns functioning as arguments

One of the syntactic properties of nouns is its ability to function as a topicalized subject (see also §4.2, §8.3.1 and §12.4) and it then controls subject agreement of the verbal predicate. This means that arguments in Woi are typically expressed solely by inflectional markers on the verb, but in pragmatic contexts where an argument is overtly expressed by other means, then it is only nouns in various NP forms that can have this function. The noun denotes an entity that controls the predicate and the subject agreement gives information about the person and number of the controlling noun, as illustrated in (5) and (6).

(5) *Ariang katung*      *nei*      *o:*      *coung*      *wona*      *pei...*  
 ariang katung      ne-i      o:      ti-oung      wona      pe-i  
 child small      PRX-SG FILL      3SG-look.after      dog      DEI-SG  
 ‘This small child takes care of a dog.’ [frogstory2\_JK\_JEN 001-002]

(6) *Wihyawar*      *vaw*      *hia*      *hena*      *na*      *o:*      *nu*      *nei*  
 Wihyawari      vau      hia      he-na      na      o      nu      ne-i  
 Wihyawari      NEU[NSG]      3PL      3PL-live      LOC      FILL      place      PRX-SG

*hia*      *hena*      *rawing*      *nei*      *pampong*  
 hia      he-na      rawing      ne-i      pampong  
 3PL      3PL-stay      bay      PRX-SG      first  
 ‘The Wihyawari people live in this place, they lived in this bay first...’  
 [MARGA\_exp\_JEW 009-011]

All sub-classes of nouns including demonstratives and interrogatives may also function as arguments such as subject and or object as in (7) and (8).

- (7) **Wampai**      *hene*              *angkati*              *tina*  
 wang-pa-i      he-ne              angkati              ti-i-na  
 there.2-DIST-SG 3PL.PSR-POSS coconut              COP-3SG-3  
 ‘That is their coconut tree.’

- (8) **Pitoi**              *peya*              *pa*  
 pito-i              ti-paya              pa  
 what-SG              3SG-say              DIST[NSG]  
 ‘What did he/she say?’

In (7), *wampai* is the subject of the nominal predicate and in (8), *pitoi* is object argument in the question in which the object is fronted.

In certain constructions such as focus constructions, the nominal expression of an object or oblique argument is fronted, and it is in this way that nouns with their characteristic function as arguments also have the morphological property of occurring with a pronominal copy, as exemplified in (9) and (10).

- (9) **Asurang**      **aeng**              *vanei*              *ei*      *ve*      *kutui*  
 asurang      ae-ng              va-ne-i              e-i      ve      kutu=i  
 pig              leg-3SG.PSR      NEU-PRX-SG      one-SG      REL      cut=3SG  
 ‘There must be someone cutting that pig’s leg.’

- (10) **Anang vanei**              *Jimi*      *hene*              *asurang*              *vanei*  
 anang va-ne-i              Jimi      he-ne              asurang              va-ne-i  
 Papeda NEU-PRX-SG      Jimmy      3PL.PSR-POSS      pig              NEU-PRX-SG
- ti*              *cani*              *pa*  
 ti              ti-ang=i              pa  
 FOC.SG              3SG-eat=3SG      FOC  
 ‘It is that papeda (a kind of food made with sago) that Jimmy’s pig ate.’

The =*i* at the end of the verb in (9) and (10) is the pronominal copy of the NP object arguments, which are fronted. The pronominal copy structurally functions as a reference tracking device in a basic clause when the object argument is focused or relativized. This is true also for an oblique argument when it undergoes fronting as in (11).

- (11) *Meri ti Jon cong doy vei pa,...*  
 Meri ti Jon ti-ong doy ve=i pa  
 Meri FOC.SG John 3SG-give money for=3SG FOC  
 ‘It is Mary that John gave the money to,...’ [phrases, ref 029]

Further description of pronominal copy is given in §12.5.2.

(b) Nouns function as the head of nominal predicates

Nouns may also function as the head of nominal predicates. One way in which they function as predicates, is with noun-noun juxtaposition, followed by the copula as in (12) and (13).

- (12) *Agus hia kuru tihiana*  
 Agus hia kuru ti-hia-na  
 Agus 3PL teacher COP-3PL-2/3  
 ‘Agus and his associates are teachers.’

- (13) *Ya pandita tiya*  
 ya pandita ti-ya  
 1SG pastor COP-1SG  
 ‘I am a pastor.’

Structures with noun-noun juxtaposition end with a copula in the clause-final position that looks like a verb, but as described further in §7.4 these constructions are analyzed as nominal predicates. The copula has person-number marking that indexes the subject of the predicate. In (12), *hia* ‘3PL’ is attached to the copula *ti-*, and *na* indexes second/third person. This copula indexes the subject of the predicate *Agus hia*.

(c) Nouns function as the head of an NP and as a nominal modifier

A noun may also function as the head of an NP. In Wooi, NPs are left-headed: all modifiers are to the right of the head noun. Nouns capable of being the head of an NP are common nouns and proper names as in (14), (15) and (16).

- |                   |     |
|-------------------|-----|
| $N_{\text{HEAD}}$ | DET |
|-------------------|-----|
- (14) *Vaving pai*  
 Vaving pa-i  
 Woman DIST-SG  
 ‘That woman.’



	N <sub>HEAD</sub>	Adj	NUM	DET
(15)	<b>Vaving</b>	<i>baba</i>	<i>korisi</i>	<i>pai</i>
	vaving	baba	korisi	pa-i
	woman	big	one	DIST-SG
	'That one big woman.'			

	N <sub>HEAD</sub>	Adj	REL	Adj. Verb	NUM	DET
(16)	<b>Vaving</b>	<i>baba</i>	[ <i>ve</i>	<i>taray</i> ]	<i>korisi</i>	<i>pai</i>
	vaving	baba	ve	tarai	korisi	pa-i
	woman	big	REL	tall	one	DIST-SG
	'That one big tall woman.'					

The head noun can take a single modifier as in (14) or more than one modifier, as in (15 and 16).

In an NP, nouns may behave as modifiers of the head noun. For example, proper names may behave as an attributive modifier to a common noun which is the NP head, as exemplified in (17a) and (b).

(17)	a.	<i>Hinyontaray</i>	<b><i>Wonyiapi</i></b>	<i>pa</i>
		hinyontaray	Wonyiap=i	pa
		person	Woinap=SG	DIST[NSG]
		'People of Woinap.'		
	b.	<i>Wa</i>	<b><i>Pomi</i></b>	<i>pai</i>
		wa	Pom-i	pa-i
		canoe	Pom-SG	DIST-SG
		'That canoe of Pom.'		

### 3.2.1.2. Common nouns

In Wooi, common nouns have two forms: lexical nouns and compound nouns. Lexical nouns refer to a type of content word that bears its own meaning and stands phonologically as a distinct word representing an entity (see Cruse 2000: 90). Words such as *manu* 'house', *wa* 'canoe', *hinyontaray* 'man', and *vaving* 'woman' are examples of lexical nouns.

Compound nouns are nouns that are derivationally made up of two or more morphemes/words and carry a new meaning (Booij 2005: 109). In Wooi, many nouns are

compound nouns, especially kinship nouns and body parts nouns. There are two types of compound nouns in Woi, which are labelled type 1 and type 2.

### 3.2.1.2.1. Compound noun type 1

In Woi, type 1 compound nouns refer to body parts. They are morphologically complex and contain two roots. Regardless of whether the meaning of each root is transparent or not, the compound noun produces a new lexical item with a new meaning. In (18) and (19), the nouns contain two roots which derive from two lexical items that are transparent in meaning. The resultant compound noun has a distinct meaning of its own.

(18) *Riung+kami* → *riukami* 'head'  
above+stone

(19) *Tereng+vava* → *tere vava* 'chin'  
tooth+below

There are also body part nouns that comprise one root that is a lexically meaningful unit, while the other has no known meaning of its own. However, when compounded, they create a new word with a new meaning as in (20) and (21).

(20) *Hore+pang* → *hore pang* 'lip'  
mouth+??

(21) *Vara+ti* → *varati* 'fingernail'  
hand+??

Type 1 compound nouns take the direct possessive construction when they are possessed. The paradigm of possessive constructions of this type is given in §5.3.1.3.

In the paradigm, these body parts can also be interpreted as possessive in context. They may take the direct possessive construction as in (22) and (23). In the paradigm the unmarked person-number is the first/third person singular.

(22) *Riukami* 'my/his/her head'  
*Riungkami* 'your head'

- Henjukami* 'their head'
- (23) *Varati* 'my/his/her fingernail'
- Varanti* 'your fingernail'
- Tambarati* 'our fingernails'

Possessive constructions are further discussed in chapter 5.

### 3.2.1.2.2. Compound noun type 2

Type 2 compound nouns consist of two common nouns each with their own transparent meaning. When they are combined, they produce a new word with a new meaning as in (24a) and (b).

- |      |    |  |    |   |
|------|----|--|----|---|
| (24) | a. | <i>Pnamnai</i><br>pina+munai<br>Snake+soil<br>'All kinds of snake' | b. | <i>Pnamaria</i><br>pina+maria<br>snake+water<br>'Eel' |
|------|----|--|----|---|

This type of compound is commonly found with kinship terms when referring to the gender of the referent as with the words *neta* 'sibling', *hawa* 'spouse' or *apu* 'grandparent' as in (25) and (26).

- |      |    |  |                     |    |  |                        |
|------|----|--|---------------------|----|--|------------------------|
| (25) | a. | <i>Neta</i><br>sibling<br>'Brother of man'               | <i>muang</i><br>man | b. | <i>Neta</i><br>sibling<br>'Sister of woman'              | <i>vaving</i><br>woman |
| (26) | a. | <i>Apui</i><br>apu-i<br>grand.parent-SG<br>'Grandfather' | <i>muang</i><br>man | b. | <i>Apui</i><br>apu-i<br>grand.parent-SG<br>'Grandmother' | <i>vaving</i><br>woman |

In (25), the words *neta muang* or *neta vaving* are used to refer to the brother of a man or the sister of a woman. Thus, *neta* 'sibling' is the kind of compound that only denotes siblings of the same sex.

### 3.2.1.3. Personal pronouns

While personal pronouns share a number of morphological and syntactic properties with other classes of nouns, as shown in table 1, they are in fact unique in the patterning of their grammatical and semantic properties and so are treated as a separate word classes. Personal pronouns in Wooi are morphologically divided into two kinds. These are free pronouns and bound pronouns. They function to replace nouns as arguments, possessors and possesses, but they do have a different syntactic distribution.

#### 3.2.1.3.1. Free pronouns

Wooi has a three-way number system, i.e. singular, dual and plural, and three persons – first, second, and third – and shows aclusivity distinction for first person dual and plural. Table 3.2 shows the complete set of free pronouns.

Table 3.2. Free pronouns in Wooi

PERSON/NUMBER	SG	DU	PL
1EXC	<i>ya</i>	<i>aru</i>	<i>ama</i>
1INC		<i>taru</i>	<i>tata</i>
2	<i>aw</i>	<i>maru</i>	<i>mia</i>
3	<i>i</i>	<i>haru</i>	<i>hia</i>

Like nouns, free pronouns can function as object and oblique arguments in the clause. As subject, a free pronoun controls the agreement with the verb. It co-references the prefixed-subject marker on the verb as in (27). In (28) and (29), free pronouns *maru* ‘1DU.EXC’ and *aw* ‘2SG’ function as object and oblique, respectively.

- (27) ***Hia*** ***hena*** ***rawing*** ***nei*** ***pampong*** ***pa***  
 hia he-t-na rawing ne-i pampong pa  
 3PL 3PL-PL-stay bay PRX-SG first DIST[NSG]  
 ‘They are the ones who first lived here (in Wooi).’ [MARGA\_exp 011]

- (28) ***Rieho*** ***maru***  
 ti-re-ho maru  
 3SG-eye-HO 1DU.EXC  
 ‘He/she saw us.’

(29) *Buong humbe veve yona ve aw pai*  
 bu-ong humbe veve y-ong-a ve aw pa-i  
 2SG-put machete REL 1SG-give-NSG.OBJ for 2SG DIST-SG

*viata nani*  
 ti-vata nani  
 3SG-lay.down.LOC where  
 ‘Where did you put the machete I gave you?’

In (27), the presence of the free pronoun *hia* is pragmatically motivated and this subject argument is a part of a topic construction. When the sentence is a pragmatically-unmarked declarative sentence, the free pronoun is omitted and the prefixed-subject marker is the only expression of subject in the clause. The free pronouns functioning as object and oblique, as in (28) and (29), are syntactically determined. They cannot be replaced by bound pronouns, except when motivated by pragmatic reasons. An object clitic is expressed as described in §6.7.

As with nouns, free pronouns can be modified by relativization in which the pronoun is the head of the NP as in (30).

(30) ***Hia*** [*veve ra ma*] *hena na Wonyiapi*  
 hia veve ra ma he-t-na na Wonyiap=i  
 3PL REL go hither 3PL-PL-live LOC Woinap=SG  
 ‘They who are coming to live in Woinap.’

Like nouns, free pronouns may modify another noun, in this case as an inclusory pronominal construction. A free pronoun supplies grammatical information of person/number to animate/human noun, which is the head of the NP. In (31), *hia* ‘3PL’ functions as an inclusory pronominal that specifies the noun phrase *hinyontaray Wooi Rawing* ‘person of Wooi’. The same inclusory pronominal construction occurs when an NP functions as an object argument as in (32).

(31) *Hinyontaray Wooi Rawing hia*  
 hinyontarai Wooi Rawing hia  
 person Wooi 3PL  
 ‘They, the people of Wooi.’

- (32) *Jon co riora Agus aw*  
 Jon ti-o ti-rora Agus aw  
 John 3SG-want 3SG-hit Agus 2SG  
 ‘John wants to hit you, Agus.’

Inclusory pronominal constructions may occur with singular and non-singular pronouns. The pronouns form constructions in which a noun functions as the head of the NP and a free pronoun functions as the modifier that supplies the person/number information to the head noun. Inclusory pronominals are further described in §4.4.2.4.

In a possessor-possessee relation, free pronouns do not appear to be significant in use. It is bound pronouns that mark the possessor in possessive constructions. In (33a), the third person plural marker *he-* ‘3PL’ attaches to the possessive marker *ne* ‘POSS’ in an indirect possessive construction. It is not possible to have the construction in (33b) with both the possessor prefix and a free pronoun. It is also ungrammatical in Wooi to have a free pronoun marking the possessor in the possessive construction without the pronominal affix, as in (33) c.

- (33) a. *Hene manu*  
 he-ne manu  
 3PL.PSR-POSS house  
 ‘Their house.’
- b. \**Hia hene manu*  
 hia he-ne manu  
 3PL 3PL.PSR-POSS house  
 ‘Their house.’
- c. \**Hia ne manu*  
 3PL POSS house  
 ‘Their house.’

Possessive constructions are further discussed in Chapter 5.

### 3.2.1.3.2. Bound pronouns

Bound pronouns are a restricted closed class that only function as the subject argument of a verbal predicate and the possessor in possessive constructions. Table 3.3 shows the forms of bound pronouns as subject marker and possessor.

Table 3.3. Bound pronouns in Woi

Person/number	Subject	Possessor
1SG	<i>y-</i> , $\emptyset$	$\emptyset$
2SG	<i>bu-</i>	<i>-mu</i> , $\langle n \rangle$
3SG	<i>ti-</i>	<i>-n</i> , $\emptyset$ , $\langle i \rangle$
1DU.INC	<i>tu-</i>	<i>tu-</i>
1DU.EXC	<i>u-</i>	<i>u-</i>
2DU	<i>mu-</i>	<i>mu-</i>
3DU	<i>hu-</i>	<i>hu-</i>
1PL.INC	<i>ta-</i>	<i>ta-</i>
1PL.EXC	<i>ma-</i>	<i>ma-</i>
2PL	<i>me-</i>	<i>me-</i>
3PL	<i>he-</i>	<i>he-</i>

Bound pronouns prefix to verbs to mark the subject argument, as in (34), and to mark the possessor in possessive constructions, as in (35).

- (34) ***Hetaweri***  
 he-t-awe=i  
 3PL-PL-look.for=3SG  
 ‘They are looking for him/her/it.’
- (35) a. ***Tane***                      *asurang*  
           ta-ne                            asurang  
           1PL.INC.PSR-POSS        pig  
           ‘Our pig.’
- b. ***Tasumomi***  
           ta-humo-m-i  
           1PL.INC-aunt-NSG.PSR-SG.PSS  
           ‘Our aunt.’

Further discussion of bound pronouns as subject arguments is given in §6.3 and §5.3.

#### 3.2.1.4. Proper names

Proper names, i.e. person names and place names, are always marked singular because they attach to the individual entity being identified, which is definite. Thus, they use the singular number marking *-i*, as in (36).

- (36) *Ve na na Asua vanei Agus,*  
ve na na Asua va-ne-i Agus-i  
REL stay LOC Asua NEU-PRX-SG Agus-SG
- Joni neta baba pi tina*  
Jon-i neta baba pi ti-i-na  
John-SG sibling big DEI COP-3SG-3  
‘The one who lives in Ansus is Agus, John’s brother.’

### 3.2.1.5. Demonstratives

Demonstratives have similar number marking to that found in possessive constructions and with proper names. They overtly mark singular with *-i* and unmarked forms are non-singular, as exemplified in (37). Syntactically, they function as subject argument in these sentences.

- (37) a. *Wampai ya neu pa*  
wang-pa-i ya ne-u pa  
there.2-DIST-SG 1SG POSS-1SG FOC  
‘That is mine.’
- b. *Wampa ya neu pa*  
wang-pa ya ne-u pa  
there.2-DIST[NSG] 1SG POSS-1SG FOC  
‘Those are mine.’

Demonstratives in Woi are morphologically complex, and formed from different word classes, but as derived forms they behave morphologically and syntactically as nouns. The morphological formation of demonstratives will be further discussed in chapter 13.

### 3.2.1.6. Question words

Like demonstratives, singular vs. non-singular number marking is also typical of question words, especially those that refer to an entity or referent, such as *matei* ‘who’ and *pitoi* ‘what’, as in (38) and (39).

- (38) a. *Matei ria wang*  
mate-i i-ra wang  
who-SG 3SG-go there  
‘Who is walking there?’



- b. *Mate hia henda wang*  
 mate hia he-ra wang  
 who[NSG] 3PL 3PL-walk there  
 ‘Who are they that are walking there?’
- (39) a. *Pitoti ninei*  
 pito-i ti ning-ne-i  
 what-SG FOC.SG here-PRX-SG  
 ‘What is this?’
- b. *Pito ai nine*  
 pito ai ning-ne  
 what[NSG] FOC.NSG here-PRX[NSG]  
 ‘What are these?’

Complete sets of interrogative words will be further discussed in §7.7.3.

### 3.2.2. Verbs

Verbs in Woori express actions, processes, states and in some cases qualities. They primarily function as predicates which subcategorize for arguments. Verbs in Woori are divided into four classes. They are action verbs, adjectival verbs, derived verbs and verbs with possessive morphology. All these different types of verbs share the grammatical property that defines the entire class of verbs, which is subject agreement. Subject agreement prefixes index the person/number of the subject argument on verbs. Some members of adjectival verbs, however, may also function as a modifier of an NP.

#### 3.2.2.1. Action verbs

Action verbs are the prototypical verbs in Woori. They obligatorily take a prefixed-subject marker, as in (40) and (41).

- (40) ... *hurenda husokondoya...*  
 hu-r-ena=mara hu-hokondoya  
 3DU-DU-sleep=then 3DU-snore  
 ‘...they slept then they snored...’ [id MARGA\_Horota 143]

- (41) ...*mumari*                      *va* ...  
           mu-r-mari  
           2DU-DU-laugh            NEG  
           ‘...you two don’t laugh!’    [id kitchen\_conversation 016]

Note that there are other word classes that also take subject marking as action verbs do. The comitative marker *kong* ‘COM’ is one of those that functions like a verb. Its syntactic and semantic behaviour does reflect that of verbs. In this case, this is called a ‘comitative verb’: it has two arguments, subject and object, but semantically both arguments are equal in their participant role. The comitative verb cannot function as a main verb because semantically it does not convey an action, process or state meaning. Syntactically, the verb requires another action verb that shows the activity done by the arguments. This is illustrated in (42).

- (42) *Horota*            ***hengkong***            *Wermong*            *hena*            *na*            *o:*  
       *Horota*            *he-t-kong*            Werimon            he-t-na            na            o:  
       Horota            3PL-PL-COM        Werimon            3PL-PL-live        LOC        FILL
- vavaw...*  
*vau-vau*  
 NEU-RED[NSG]  
 ‘The clan of Horota and the clan of Werimon lived there...’ [id MARGA\_exp 039]

A member of another word class that allows subject marking on the host is the directional preposition *bu* ‘toward’. It applies the paradigm of subject marker on verbs. As a verb, it means ‘go toward’. This is illustrated in (43).

- (43) *Kiopa*            *ra*            *biu*                      *na*            *kakopa*            *vat...*  
       ti-kopa            ra            ti-bu                      na            kakopa            va-i  
       3SG-jump            thither    3SG-toward            LOC        soil                      NEU-SG  
       ‘It (frog) jumps towards the ground...’ [frogstory2\_JK 027]

Subject-verb agreement is a common feature of the Austronesian languages of Cenderawasih Bay. Languages such as Ambai (Silzer 1983), Wandamen (Gasser 2014), and Biak (Mofu 2008 and van den Heuvel 2006) also have this feature.

### 3.2.2.2. Adjectival verbs and adjectives

Syntactically, adjectival verbs can behave in two ways. First, they can take arguments like action verbs and second they can function as attributes that modify an NP. A small group of semantically adjectival verbs such as *baba* ‘big’, *tariay* ‘tall’ and *tavava* ‘short’ can function both as a predicate and also as a modifier of an NP. In (44) and (45), the adjectival verbs behave as a predicate in which they take the prefixed-subject marker as action verbs do.

(44) *Vaving wampai rekami beba*  
 vaving wang-pa-i re-kami ti-baba  
 woman there.2-DIST-SG [1/3SG]see-stone 3SG-big  
 ‘That woman’s eyes are big’

(45) *Agus teriay, Jon tevava*  
 Agus ti-tariai Jon ti-tavava  
 Agus 3SG-tall John 3SG-short  
 ‘Agus is tall, John is short’

They can also function as a modifier in a noun phrase. As modifiers, they do not take any inflections. They appear in the base forms of lexical adjectival items as in (46) and (47).

(46) a. *Ay baba wampai*  
 ai baba wang-pa-i  
 tree big there.2-DIST-SG  
 ‘That big tree’

b. *\*Ay beba wampai*  
 ai ti-baba wang-pa-i  
 tree 3SG-big there.2-DIST-SG

(47) a. *Hiuntaray tariay ninei*  
 hinyontarai tarai ning-ne-i  
 person tall here-PRX-SG  
 ‘This tall person’

b. *\*Hiuntaray teriay ninei*  
 hinyontarai ti-tariai ning-ne-i  
 person 3SG-tall here-PRX-SG  
 ‘This tall person’

In (46–47a), the word *baba* ‘big’ and *tariay* ‘tall’ function to attributively modify the noun *ay* ‘tree’ and *hiuntaray* ‘person’. And, the sentences in (46-47b) indicate that the form of the verb with subject inflection cannot be used as an attributive modifier to the head noun. Verbal morphology is discussed in more detail in chapter 6.

In comparison, in many other languages, a larger group of words referring to states and qualities, such as *sick* or *angry*, may also fall into such an adjectival verb class, syntactically functioning as a predicate and also as an attributive modifier in an NP. However, in Woori, words like *huhi* ‘sick’ and *kahiow* ‘angry’ are solely verbs. They show the properties that characterize verbs, i.e. taking subject marking and functioning as the head of predicate, as in (48) and (49).

- (48) *Ayhinyang*    *pai*                    *vo*                    *ramdempe*    ***hiuhi***            *payna*  
 aihinyang      pa-i                    vo                    ramdempe      ti-huhi          paina  
 Old.person      DIST-SG              FOC.NOM        yesterday       3SG-sick       so
- hengko*            *ria*    *to*            *Harui*  
 he-t-ko            ti-ra    to            Harui  
 3PL-PL-bring    3SG-go to       Serui  
 ‘The old person is sick so we took him to Serui yesterday.’

- (49) ***Kehiow***            *kira*  
 ti-kahiou            kira  
 3SG-angry            very  
 ‘He is very angry.’

These verbs cannot function as attributive modifiers to an NP. When they function as modifiers in an NP, they must be relativized like other verbs, and unlike adjectival verbs; see (50a). It is ungrammatical in Woori for *kahiouw* ‘angry’ to function as an attributive modifier as in (50b).

- (50) a.    *Hiuntaray*    *ve*    *kahiow*            *kaira*    *pai*  
 hinyontarai    ve    kahiou            kaira    pa-i  
 person            REL    angry            very    DIST-SG  
 ‘The person who is very angry’

- b.     \**Hiuntaray*   *kahiow*           *kaira*   *pai*  
           *hinyontarai*   *kahiou*           *kaira*   *pa-i*  
           person           angry           very     DIST-SG  
           ‘The angry person’

### 3.2.2.3. Derived verbs

This class consists of verbs derived with verbalizing morphology. In Wooi, nouns can act as verbs and be in predicate position when they carry the verbalizer *ve-* ‘VBLZ’. There are two grammatical reasons to classify this type of word as verbal. First, *ve-* is a prefix which derives a verb from a noun or a loan word and has an inchoative meaning. This classification is a result of word formation that then occurs predicatively and takes typical subject markers. Second, it creates a verb, as it shows the absence of the copular nominal, which is a feature of a true nominal clause. Example (51) behaves as a verb as it takes a subject marker.

- (51)   *Maria*           *hembepandita*  
        *Maria*           he-t-ve-pandita  
        *Maria*           3PL-PL-VBLZ-pastor  
        ‘Maria and associates became pastors.’

There is also a form in the paradigm in which a derived verb does not take a subject marker as for the third person singular. This is still analyzed as a derived verb given its predicative function and inchoative meaning parallel to forms with different subject arguments that do show overt subject marking. This is illustrated in (52).

- (52)   *Jon*     *vekuru*  
        *Jon*     ve-kuru  
        *John*   [3SG]VBLZ-teacher  
        ‘John became a teacher.’

It is ungrammatical if the copula is present in the clause where the verbalizer *ve-* is applied, as in (53).

- (53)   \**Maria*           *hembepandita*           *tihiana*  
        *Maria*           he-t-ve-pandita           ti-hia-na  
        *Maria*           3PL-PL-VBLZ-pastor       COP-3PL-3  
        ‘Maria and associates are pastors.’

### 3.2.2.4. Verbs taking possessive morphology

Some verbs, namely sensory verbs, are also derived by a verbalization process. Typically these verbs derive from nouns that have the property of taking direct possessive morphology. However, by taking the morpheme *-ho*, they become verbs. In such constructions, the possessive morphology that otherwise indicates the possessor here indexes the subject argument of the derived verb, as illustrated in (54) and (55).

- (54) *Taramuho*<sup>1</sup>      *kavio*              *ne*  
 tara-mu-ho      kavio              e  
 ear-2SG-HO      [1SG]talk          Q  
 ‘Did you hear me talking?’
- (55) *Hanecara*<sup>2</sup>                      *ve*      *kamiy*              *mara*    *rua*      *ma*  
 hane-cara                      ve      kamiei              mara    bu-ra    ma  
 [1SG]stomach-??              for      tomorrow              that      2SG-go    hither  
 ‘I hope that tomorrow you come here.’

Possessive morphology and person markers indicating possessors and possessees are described in detail in Chapter 5. This use of possessive morphology used with derived verbs is further discussed in §6.5 and in footnote 2.

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<sup>1</sup> The paradigm of *taramuho* shows the typical possessive construction of nouns as follows:

<i>Tara-ho</i>	‘I hear’
<i>tara-mu-ho</i>	‘you hear’
<i>tara-ho</i>	‘he/she hears’
<i>tan-tara-ho</i>	‘we (incl.) hear’
<i>hen-tara-ho</i>	‘they hear’

<sup>2</sup> The noun *hanecara* also shows the typical possessive construction of nouns in which it reflects compound word of type 1.

<i>hanecara</i>	‘I hope’
<i>hane-ng-cara</i>	‘you hope’
<i>hanecara</i>	‘he/she hopes’
<i>ta-sanecara</i>	‘we (incl.) hope’
<i>he-sanecara</i>	‘they hope’

Verbs taking possessive morphology are discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

### 3.3. Minor word classes

#### 3.3.1. Other question words

Unlike question words referring to entities and/or referents, which are subcategorized as nouns, other question words in Woori form a distinct closed class. Morphologically, they do not take any number marking as nouns do. Syntactically, they are more stable in their position in a clause. Basically, they are always placed either in the initial or in the final positions. This is different from question words belonging to noun classes which can be placed elsewhere, depending on the position of the noun being queried. Semantically, they refer to location, condition and amount. In word formation, they consist of simple and complex words. Simple question words have only a single mono-morphemic form. Complex question words morphologically consist of two or more morphemes.

Simple question words always encode questions that relate to condition, location and amount. Complex interrogative words refer to questions that relate to temporal reference and reason.

##### 3.3.1.1. Simple words

The question word *nani* ‘where’ is used in content questions to ask about a location. Its syntactic position is clause-final, where the locative adjunct is placed in the basic clause structure. It can be positioned with or without the locative preposition *na* ‘LOC’ as in (56). *Nani* is restricted to the clause-final position. It is an in-situ question word, which never occurs in any other position. When it occurs in other positions, it is ungrammatical, as in (56) c.

- (56) a. *Mato*                      *mamahoy*              *nani*  
 ma-t-o                      ma-t-mahoi              nani  
 1PL.EXC-PL-want              1PL-PL-sit              where  
 ‘Where do we want to sit?’
- b. *Yong*              *humbe*              *pai*              *na*              *nani*  
 y-ong              humbe              pa-i              na              nani  
 1SG-put              machete              DIST-SG              LOC              where  
 ‘Where did you put the machete?’
- c. \**Nani mato*                      *mamahoy*  
 nani ma-t-o                      ma-t-mahoi  
 where 1PL.EXC-PL-want              1PL.EXC-PL-sit  
 ‘Where do we want to sit?’

*Nani* ‘where’ can function to modify a focused-object noun in questions referring to a choice between referents, as in (57). In this usage, the modifier *nani* means ‘which’.

- (57) *Wa nani ramdempe buoni ne*  
 wa nani ramdempe bu-ong=i e  
 canoe where yesterday 2SG-make=3SG Q  
 ‘Which canoe did you make yesterday?’

The syntactic distribution of *nani* ‘where’ is further described in §7.7.3.3.3.

Like *nani* ‘where’, *toni* ‘how many’ is also a clause-final content question word. It is used to ask about the number of nominal objects, as in (58). Like *nani*, *toni* is restricted in its syntactic position. Placing *toni* in other positions in a sentence, for instance in a clause-initial position, is ungrammatical as in (58b). Further discussion of *toni* ‘how many’ is given in §7.7.3.3.7.

- (58) a. *Boruu*              *toni*  
 bu-ariu              toni  
 2SG-get              how.many  
 ‘How many did you get?’
- b. \**Toni*              *boruu*  
 toni              bu-ariu  
 how.many              2SG-get  
 ‘How many did you get?’



Another simple interrogative word is *topino* ‘how’, which is used to ask about manner. Syntactically, its position is restricted to the clausal-initial position as in (59). It cannot be placed anywhere else in the sentence.

- (59) **Topino**            *remuho*            *rian*    *to*        *ne*  
topino                re-mu-HO            ti-ra    to        e  
how                    eye-2SG-HO        3SG-go PERF    Q  
‘How did you know that he/she has gone?’ [lit. How did you see that he/she has gone?]

It is also discussed in §7.7.3.3.6.

### 3.3.1.2. Complex question words

Question words such as *hanani* ‘when’, *hapitoi* ‘when’ and *pitoiconā* ‘why’ or literally ‘what make’ are morphologically complex in that they are made up of two or more morphemes.

*Pitoiconā* ‘why’ is a complex content question word that requires a reason for the answer. It is a complex word that derives from the combined morphemes *pito-i* ‘what-SG’ plus the causative verb *conā* ‘cause’. Literally, *pitoiconā* means ‘what cause’, which resembles the question word ‘why’ as they both require a reason in answer, as shown in (60).

- (60) **Pitoiconā**            *ria*    *na*        *wampa*                    *ra*  
pito-i-ti-ona            ti-ra    na        wang-pa                    ra  
what-SG-3SG=cause    3SG-go LOC    there.2-DIST[NSG]        thither  
‘Why is he/she going there?’

*Pitoiconā* ‘why’ is syntactically restricted in position. It can only occur in clause-initial position. More on *pitoiconā* ‘why’ is given in 7.7.3.3.5.

The question words *hanani* ‘when’ and *hapitoi* ‘when’ are used to ask about time. Morphologically, they derive from different sources, i.e. *hanani* ‘when’ is from *ha* + *nani* ‘day/time + where’ and *hapitoi* is from *ha* + *pitōi* ‘day/time + what’, as shown in (61).

- (61) a. *Hentampi*                      *na*            *hanani*  
 he-t-ang=pi                      na            ha-nani  
 3PL-PL-eat=thing                LOC        day-where  
 ‘When did they eat?’ [lit. Which day did they eat?]
- b. *Hapitoi*                      *rua*    *to*            *pasar*            *ne*  
 ha-pitoi                      bu-ra    to            pasar            e  
 day-what                      2SG-go to            market            Q  
 ‘When are you going to the market?’ [lit. What day are you going to the market?]

Further discussion of the syntactic, semantic and pragmatic analyses of *hanani* and *hapitoi* are given in §7.7.3.3.4.

### 3.3.2. Numerals and quantifiers

Numerals and quantifiers form another minor word class in Wooi. The language has a mixed numeral system in which the basic numerals 1-10 are independent lexical items. Numerals between 10-20 are a combination of *hura* ‘ten’ plus the basic numerals 1-9. Numerals higher than 20 use a vigesimal (base 20) numeral system. This is composed of multiples of 20, i.e. 20, 40, 60, 80 and 100. This is the typical numeral system in the Austronesian languages of Cenderawasih Bay such as Waropen, Wandamen, Ambai, and Biak. The basic numbers of the set of numerals in Wooi are listed in Table 3.4.

Table 3.4. The mixed numeral system and the counting system in Wooi

1	<i>korisi</i>	one	11-19	<i>hura</i> +	tens +
2	<i>koru</i>	two	20	<i>Pierehi</i>	twenty
3	<i>toru</i>	three	21-39	<i>pierehi</i> +	twenty +
4	<i>muana</i>	four	40	<i>Piakoru</i>	forty
5	<i>ding</i>	five	41-59	<i>piakoru</i> +	forty +
6	<i>wonang</i>	six	60	<i>Piatoru</i>	sixty
7	<i>itu</i>	seven	61-79	<i>piatoru</i> +	sixty +
8	<i>waru</i>	eight	80	<i>Piamuana</i>	eighty
9	<i>siu</i>	nine	100	<i>Piading</i>	a hundred
10	<i>hura</i>	ten	200	<i>piapura/piading vekoru</i>	two hundreds
			300	<i>piading vetoru</i>	three hundreds
			1000	<i>piading vehura</i>	one thousands

The numeral 10 is basically the base reference for numerals between 11 to 19. They are formed by the base form *hura* ‘ten’, *heha* ‘plus’, and the numerals 1 to 9. This can be exemplified, as in (62).

- (62) a. *Hura heha korisi*  
 ten plus one ‘eleven’
- b. *Hura heha koru*  
 ten plus two ‘twelve’
- c. *Hura heha siu*  
 ten plus nine ‘nineteen’

The numeral 20 is the base for the vigesimal system. It refers to all the fingers and all toes of a person meaning one complete human. As for numbers in the tens, numerals between 21 and 39 are also formed by having a system of addition, as in (63).

- (63) a. *Pierehi heha korisi*  
 twenty plus one ‘twenty one’
- b. *Pierehi heha koru*  
 twenty plus two ‘twenty two’
- c. *Pierehi heha hura*  
 twenty plus ten ‘thirty’
- d. *Pierehi heha hura heha korisi*  
 twenty plus ten plus one ‘thirty one’
- e. *Pierehi heha hura heha siu*  
 twenty plus ten plus nine ‘thirty nine’

The vigesimal system starts from *pierehi* ‘twenty’ and applies the reduced form *pia* plus numerals 1-10 to form the system.

- (64) a. *Pierehi* ‘twenty’
- b. *Piakoru*  
*pierehi-koru*  
 twenty-two  
 ‘forty’

- c. *Piading*  
 pierehi-ding  
 twenty-five  
 ‘one hundred’

In (64b) and c, the numbers can be literally translated as ‘twenty times two’ for forty and ‘twenty times five’ for a hundred.

Numerals of 200 and greater are formed by using the basic numeral 100 with its multiplication. To form multiplication, the base *piading* ‘one hundred’ is followed by the multiple marker<sup>3</sup> *ve-* ‘MULT’ and the numeral to indicate the number of hundreds. This system of multiplication applies for numerals of 200 as well as and all other hundreds.

- (65) a. *Piading*      *vekoru*  
 pia-ding      ve-koru  
 twenty-five      MULT-two  
 ‘Two hundreds’
- b. *Piading*      *vetoru*  
 pia-ding      ve-toru  
 twenty-five      MULT-three  
 ‘Three hundreds’
- c. *Piading*      *vehura*  
 pia-ding      ve-hura  
 twenty-five      MULT-ten  
 ‘One thousand’

Syntactically, numerals always modify a noun in a noun phrase, simply following the head noun (66), and can also be relativised within an NP as in (67). This is further discussed in §4.4.2.3.1.

- (66) *Vaving*      ***koru***      *vane*  
 vaving      koru      va-ne  
 woman      one      NEU-PRX[NSG]  
 ‘Those two women.’
- (67) *Asurang*      ***ve***      ***muana***      *pa*  
 pig      REL      six      DIST[NSG]  
 ‘Those six pigs.’

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<sup>3</sup> The multiple marker *ve-* ‘MULT’ is phonologically homophonous with the oblique, verbalizer, and relative clause marker.

Wooi numerals can be verbalized and so occur as a verbal predicate taking prefixed-subject marking. To do so, they are required to take the verbalizer *ve-* ‘VBLZ’ as exemplified in (68). In (69), the verbalized form can be relativized within a noun phrase. There is no relative marker in this sentence but since the form being relativized is a verb, it can be analysed as a relative clause that is embedded within the NP.

(68) *Neta baba hembetoru raruong humbekoru*  
 neta baba he-t-ve-toru raruo-ng hu-r-ve-koru  
 sibling big 3PL-PL-VBLZ-three cross.sibling-3SG 3DU-DU-VBLZ-two  
 ‘He has three big brothers and two sisters.’

(69) *Ha hinyontaray [hembedding] vane hia,*  
 ha hinyontarai he-t-ve-ding va-ne hia  
 from person 3PL-PL-VBLZ-five NEU-PRX[NSG] 3PL  
  
*piang vetau hembetoru to*  
 piang ve-tau he-t-ve-toru to  
 already VBLZ-know 3PL-PL-VBLZ-three PERF  
 ‘From those five people, I have known three of them.’

Quantifiers basically take the same position as numerals do within an NP and they may also function as a predicate. Quantifiers attributively function to identify indefinite numbers or non-specific numbers of plural nouns. As modifiers, they always occur within an NP as in (70). A quantifier can also be a predicate but without verbal subject markers as in (71).

(70) *Angkati paw vane*  
 angkati pau va-ne  
 coconut many NEU-PRX[NSG]  
 ‘Those many coconuts.’

(71) *Hene wona paw va*  
 he-ne wona pau va  
 3PL-POSS dog many NEG  
 ‘Their dogs are not many.’

The quantifier *paw* ‘many’ can take the person marker as the verb, but the quantifier does not behave like a verb. It is always followed by a verb as the predicate, as in (72) and (73).

The person marker in the quantifier co-references with the person marking on the verb (72) and free subject pronoun and person marker on the verb in (73).

(72) *Hempaw henda ma ne*  
 he-pau he-t-ra ma ne  
 3PL-many 3PL-PL-go hither PRX[NSG]  
 ‘There are many people coming.’

(73) *Hempaw va hia henda ma pa*  
 he-pau va hia he-t-ra ma pa  
 3PL-many NEG 3PL 3PL-PL-go hither FOC  
 ‘It is not that many who are coming.’

There are no classifiers in Woi. The language makes use of numerals to refer to definiteness and uses existential constructions to indicate indefiniteness as in (74).

(74) *E anti hiay ne*  
 e anti ti-hai ne  
 EXIST 3SG.FOC 3SG-cry PRX[NSG]  
 ‘There is a person crying.’

### 3.3.3. Prepositions

Prepositions in Woi are divided into two types. They are locative prepositions, which describe location in space or time, and directional prepositions, which describe direction and spatial orientation.

#### 3.3.3.1. Locative preposition

Woi has one locative preposition, which is *na* ‘LOC’. Syntactically, it functions to indicate location and it forms a prepositional phrase with the noun it modifies, as in (75) and (76).

(75) *Mungkin<sup>4</sup> ka tasua na Asua*  
 mungkin ingkai ta-t-hua na Asua  
 probably later 1PL.INC-PL-enter LOC Ansus  
 ‘Probably, we will go to Ansus later.’ (id\_boatpreparation 092)

<sup>4</sup> The use of Malay word such as in (75) is common in Woi and it is considered an example of code-mixing or a code-switching, especially involving the use of coordinated or functional words such as *mungkin* ‘probably’, *baru* ‘then’, *terus* ‘and then’, and nouns such as *masalah* ‘problem’ and so on. Throughout the thesis, all Malay words will be identified with a footnote.

(76) *Meti na kambrey ma viata heyo*  
 ti-mati na kambrei ma ti-vata ti-hayo  
 3SG-go.out LOC hole hither 3SG-be.placed 3SG-see

*wona nei*  
 wona ne-i  
 dog PRX-SG

‘He (frog) came out from the hole and saw the dog.’ (id\_frogstory 153)

In (75) and (76), the preposition *na* ‘LOC’ marks a location. It may also mark a prepositional phrase of locative time reference, as in (77).

(77) *Hena na manu nei na ramdempe*  
 he-na na manu ne-i na ramdempe  
 3PL-stay LOC house PRX-SG LOC yesterday  
 ‘They stayed at this house yesterday.’

Its syntactic structure is described in §7.4.3.

*Na* ‘LOC’ may also function as locative predicate. In this function, it behaves morphologically like a verb in that it takes the prefixed-subject marker, as in (78) and (79).

(78) *Hena manu nei*  
 he-t-na manu ne-i  
 3PL-PL-LOC house PRX-SG  
 ‘They are at home.’

(79) *Agus nya Jayapura*  
 Agus ti-na Jayapura  
 Agus 3SG-LOC Jayapura  
 ‘Agus is in Jayapura.’

### 3.3.3.2. Directional prepositions

Wooi also has a set of directional prepositions as indicated in Table 3.5. Syntactically, they function as the head of prepositional phrases and semantically they project spatial orientation in which a person or place becomes the frame of reference.

Table 3.5. Directional prepositions in Wooi

Prepositions	Semantic
<i>to</i>	'to' (toward a location/someone)
<i>ho</i>	'to' (toward a location/someone)
<i>ve</i>	'to/for' (toward someone)
<i>bu</i>	'toward' (toward someone)
<i>kong</i>	'from' (away from someone)

The prepositions *to* and *ho* project a direction toward a place. The difference between them lies in the aspect of reality and evidentiality: the preposition *to* 'to' indicates unrealized events and the preposition *ho* 'to' indicates the realized events in which the event is believed to be true by the speaker whether the speaker relies on his own experience or someone else's experience, as in (80).

- (80) a. *Vetau ravaveria tanda to Asua vane*  
ve-tau ravaveria ta-t-ra to Asua va-ne  
[1SG]VBLZ-know trip 1PL.INC-PL-go to.IRR Ansus NEU-PRX[NSG]  
'I know the trip to go to Ansus.'
- b. *Taraho arari apui hampompe vio ra*  
tara-ho arari apui hampompe ti-vo ra  
[1SG]ear-HO story [1SG]grandfather in.the.past 3SG-paddle go
- ho Manokwari pa*  
ho Manokwari pa  
to.REAL Manokwari DIST[NSG]  
'I heard the story about my grandfather who went [by paddling a canoe]  
to Manokwari.'

The other three prepositions indicate semantically quite complex spatial orientation in that they indicate the motion to or towards someone/something and the motion away from someone/something. The preposition *bu* 'toward' is only used to project a direction toward a person, an animal or a place associated with person/people. Its other function as a verb is described in §3.2.2.1. It is also true for the preposition *ve* 'to/for'. On the other hand, the preposition *kong* 'from' is used to project a direction away from someone/some animal, as in (81) and (82).



- (81) *mangkor*                      *taveri bu*    *o:*    *rahora*                      *veve pitaw*  
 ma-ko=i                      taveri bu    o    rahora                      veve pitaw  
 1PL.EXC-bring=3SG    return toward FILL    place                      REL    many
- ninanei*                      *tata ingkay to*                      *a:*    *ra*    *vane...*  
 ning-na-ne-i                      tata ingkai to                      a    ra    va-ne  
 here-LOC-PRX-SG                      1PL.INC later to                      FILL    thither NEU-PRX[NSG]  
 ‘We brought him (dead body) back to the place where all people would be going there.’ [lifestory\_KWerimon\_JEWV\_096-099]

- (82) *Aynya Maisew*                      *o:*    *cevara*                      *kong hia*    *ma*  
 Ainya Maisew                      o    ti-eva=a                      kong hia    mara  
 ancestor Maisew                      FILL    3SG-ask.for=OBJ                      from    3PL    then
- co*    *a:*    *imbe*                      *bia*                      *na*    *ninane...*  
 ti-oyo a    imbe                      bia                      na    ning-na-ne  
 3SG-say FILL    probably                      [1SG]go.down    LOC    here-LOC-PRX[NSG]  
 ‘(our) ancestor Maisew asked for something from them then he said, “probably I go down here.”’ [MARGA\_Werimon1\_EJEN 117-119]

The semantic and pragmatic description of directional prepositions is described in further detail in §13.8.3.2.

### 3.3.4. Deictics

Deictics in Wooi belong to two different grammatical categories: deictic adverbs and demonstrative modifiers. The differences between them derive from their syntactic distributions. However, they, along with demonstratives, carry similar semantic and pragmatic functions, namely they project spatial and temporal orientation. More detailed semantic and pragmatic descriptions are presented in Chapter 13.

Deictics are a syntactically closed and dependent word class, and their distributions are restricted to adverbial functions in the clause. They cannot have other syntactic functions such as being arguments or predicates in the clause; see the examples in (83).

- (83) a.    *Mate*                      *hia*    *henda*                      *wang*  
 mate                      hia    he-t-ra                      wang  
 who[NSG]                      3PL    3PL-PL-go                      there  
 ‘Who are they who are walking there?’

- b. *Henda to wang to ning mantaung hembeja*  
 he-t-ra to wang to ning mantaung he-t-ve-jadi  
 3PL-PL-go to there to here only 3PL-PL-VBLZ-become
- vetata pey kaira*  
 ve-tata pe-i kaira  
 VBLZ-crazy UP-SG until  
 ‘They are just walking back and forth like they are crazy men.’

Like deictic adverbs, demonstrative modifiers are also restricted in terms of their syntactic distribution. They can only function to modify a noun in an NP, and can have no other syntactic functions; see (84).

- (84) a. *Dominggus ve mung asurang nei nya*  
 Dominggus ve mung asurang ne-i ti-na  
 Dominggus REL kill pig PRX-SG 3SG-live
- na Wooi.Rawing*  
 na Wooi.Rawing  
 LOC Wooi  
 ‘Dominggus, who killed this pig, lives in Wooi.’

- b. *Buong ne buku pai ma*  
 bu-ong ne buku pa-i ma  
 2SG-give POSS[1SG] book DIST-SG hither  
 ‘Give me my book there!’

Demonstrative modifiers semantically have two different deictic points of reference, i.e. horizontal modifiers as shown in (83), and vertical modifiers, with meanings like ‘up there’ or ‘down there’. They fill the same slot in an NP. This semantic difference is further discussed in Chapter 13.

Deictics and demonstratives are complex in terms of their semantic, pragmatic as well as morphosyntactic features. This is further discussed in Chapter 13.

### 3.3.5. Particles

Particles are a minor word class consisting of phonologically dependent, unstressed elements that signal certain discourse functions. Wooi has sets of particles with various

functions and idiosyncratic morphosyntax. These functions include encoding aspect and modality, and marking other semantic and pragmatic functions, including information structure. In this section, only question particles, focus particles, aspectual particles and discourse particles are described. Further descriptions and examples are found in many examples in various chapters in this thesis.

### 3.3.5.1. Question particle

The question particle *e* ‘Q’ is syntactically clause-final. It obligatorily marks yes/no questions, as in (85a). It also can be used together with a question word in an interrogative sentence, as in (85b), where it occurs with the question word *matei*.

- (85) a. *Hetong wa pai kong taw e*  
 he-t-ong wa pa-i kong aw e  
 3PL-PL-make canoe DIST-SG COM 2SG Q  
 ‘Did they help you to build the canoe?’
- b. *Kuru veve riwang kuru Wihiyawari pai*  
 kuru veve riwang kuru Wihiyawari pa-i  
 teacher REL replace teacher Wihiyawari DIST-SG
- matei ne*  
 mate-i e  
 who-SG Q  
 ‘Who is the teacher that replaces Mr. Wihiyawari?’

It varies phonologically depending on the environment it occurs in. In (85a), it follows the diphthong of which the final vowel is articulated as approximant sound [w], so it takes the form [e]. In (b), as the final vowel in the diphthong is articulated as an [i] sound, it requires a nasal insertion in between the two vowels so it does not violate a phonotactic constraint against three-vowel sequences in Wooi. Phonotactic rules in Wooi allow just two vowels to be adjacent. If there are more than two vowels then consonant insertion is needed. Further discussion is given in §2.5.9. The syntactic distribution and the function of question particle is further discussed in §7.7.3.

### 3.3.5.2. Negative particle

The negative particle *va* ‘NEG’ is used in standard negation in Wooi. It is a clause-final particle that functions to negate the whole proposition of the clause, see (86a). In another usage, it can also be cliticized to the imperfect marker when describing an event that has not taken place yet, see (86b), and can also attach to the negative particle *tehava* ‘N.PART=NEG’, see (86) c.

- (86) a. *Yam pa va*  
 y-ang pa va  
 1SG-eat rice NEG  
 ‘I am not eating (some) rice/I don’t eat rice.’
- b. *Frida vo vekuru vami*  
 Frida vo ve-kuru va=mi  
 Frida FOC VBLZ-teacher NEG-IMPERF  
 ‘Frida has not become a teacher yet.’
- c. *Minggus cawa tehava*  
 Minggus ti-tawa teha=va  
 Minggus 3Sg-fall NPART=NEG  
 ‘Minggus did not fall.’

The negative particle *va* ‘NEG’ and its syntactic distribution is further discussed in §7.6.

### 3.3.5.3. Aspectual particles

Wooi uses particles to describe the internal temporal shape of events or states. There are two aspect markers that semantically define two different aspectual categories, i.e. the perfective particle *to* ‘PERF’ and the imperfective particle *vami* ‘IMPERF’, which consists of two morphemes *va* ‘NEG’ and *-mi* ‘IMPERF’. Syntactically, they are also post-clausal particles, and they describe the internal temporal shape to the whole proposition denoted by the clause; see (87) and (88).

- (87) *Ne worwa piang etoni to*  
 ne worwa piang e-t-ong=i to  
 POSS[1SG] fence already 3PL.INDEF-PL-make=3SG PERF  
 ‘My fence, they have already made it.’

- (88) *Henda ma ho Wooi.Rawing vami*  
 he-t-ra ma ho Wooi.Rawing va-mi  
 3PL-PL-go hither to Wooi.Bay NEG-IMPERF
- mara hena na Asua*  
 mara he-t-na na Asua  
 that 3PL-PL-live LOC Ansus  
 ‘Before they came (to live) in Wooi, they used to live in Ansus.’

Morphologically and semantically, the imperfective particle *vami* is dependent. The morpheme *mi* can only attach to the negative particle *va* in order to be appropriate in use and in meaning. This is also discussed in §7.6.1.

### 3.3.5.4. Focus particles

Wooi has several particles that mark pragmatic focus. There are two types of focus particles, determined by their syntactic distribution. First, the focus marker *vo* ‘FOC.NOM’ which can function in both verbal and non-verbal clauses; see (89).

- (89) ...*wahang baba mane nei mara*  
 wahang baba ma-ne ne-i mara  
 family big 1PL.EXC-POSS PRX-SG that
- ama vo Dadikam ti-ama Bia*  
 ama vo Dadikam ti-ama Biak  
 1PL.EXC FOC.NOM Dadikam COP-1PL.EXC Biak
- a: ria ma riaw o: vaving Marapi nei o:...*  
 a ti-ra ma ti-raw o vaving Marapi ne-i o  
 FILL 3SG-go hither 3SG-marry FILL woman Marapi PRX-SG FILL  
 ‘Our big family, it is us that came from the Adadikam clan of Biak, he (our ancestor) came and married this Marapi woman...’ [id MARG-Kirihio 299-304]

Second, there are the focus markers *ti* ‘FOC.SG’/ *ai* ‘FOC.NSG’ ... *pa* ‘FOC’ which are discontinuous. The focus markers *ti* ‘FOC.SG’ or *ai* ‘FOC.NSG’ and *pa* ‘FOC’ occur together in a clause. The first focus element encodes the number of the NP, and *pa* marks the whole clause as part of focus construction, see (90). The pragmatic descriptions of this construction are further discussed in Chapter 12.

- (90) *Ne*                    *poto*   *ne*                    *ai*                    *yanyau*  
 ne                    poto   ne                    ai                    y-anyau  
 POSS[1SG]        photo   PRX[NSG]        FOC.NSG        1SG-show
- ve*        *ne*                    *Agus*   *pa*  
 ve        ne                    Agus   pa  
 for       PRX[NSG]        Agus   FOC
- ‘Those are my photos that I showed to Agus.’

### 3.3.5.5. Discourse particles

In addition to all of the particles described above, Wooi also has a set of discourse particles that are phonologically various long vowels [*a:*, *e:*, *o:*]. They mainly function as fillers in discourse. In Wooi, when a section of discourse is long, a speaker tends to break it down into several chunks. Chunks could be a noun phrase, a clause, a sentence, or individual verbs in verb serialization. The placement of fillers in discourse is predictable as they always occur at the boundary of a possible chunk; see example (91). For instance in line two below, the particle *o:* functions as a filler in between two verbs of which the first verb expresses the motion of the subject and the second one expresses the action of the following activity. Thus, it is appropriate for Wooi to chunk the sentence there.

- (91) *Po*        *ra*        *vata*        *va*        *na*        *kamari*        *vane*        *varomi*  
 po        ra        vata        va        na        kamari        va-ne        varomi  
 [1SG]pull    tether   stay       NEG       LOC       below.house       NEU.PRX[NSG]    in.order.to  
 ‘I pull (the pimamu rope in order to) store it underneath the house so that...’
- ariang*                    *maycaw*                    *ne*                    *hembia*                    *ma*        *o:*  
 ariang                    maycaw                    ne                    he- t-bia                    ma        o  
 child                    small                    PRX[NSG]                    3PL-PL-go.down    hither    FILL  
 ‘the small children go down (from the house into the canoe),...’
- mampika*                    *herang*                    *rawraw*                    *e:*                    *mambe*  
 ma-t-pika                    herang                    rau-rau                    e                    ma-t-ve  
 1PL.EXC-PL-release        fishing.net                    sea-sea                    FILL        1PL.EXC-PL-VBLZ  
 ‘we cast out the net seawards,...’
- tatong*                    *pararia*                    *pe*                    *pamong*                    *yang*  
 ta-t-ong                    parari=a                    pe                    pampong                    yang  
 1PL.INC-PL-make                    be.like=NSG.OBJ                    DET                    first                    there  
 ‘we make it like people did the earlier time...’

<i>orang</i>	<i>aynyang</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>heton</i>	<i>toa</i>	<i>pa</i>
orang	aynyang	pa	he-ong	?	pa
people	grandfather	DIST[NSG]	3PL-make	?	DIST[NSG]

‘(our) ancestors invented the way (of doing this)...’

<i>tanda</i>	<i>pararia</i>	<i>pei</i>	<b>no:</b>	<i>pi</i>	<b>o:</b>	<b>a:</b>
ta-t-ra	parari=a	pei	o	pi	o	a
1PL.INC-PL-go	be.like=NSG.OBJ	DET.SG	FILL	object	FILL	FILL

‘we follow according to something that...’

<i>tantapum</i>	<i>hetona</i>	<i>vaw</i>
ta-tapun-m	he-t-ong-a	vau
1PL.INC.PSR-grandfather-NSG.PSR[NSG.PSS]	3p-PL-make-NSG.OBJ	NEU[NSG]

‘our ancestor have done but...’

<i>mae</i>	<i>tangkong</i>	<i>ambe</i>	<i>hene</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>va...</i>
mae	ta-t-kong	ambe	he-ne	ne	va
but	1PL.INC-PL-COM	foreign	3PL.PSR-POSS	PRX[NSG]	NEG

‘we should not be influenced by the way outsiders do it.’

# Chapter 4 – Noun phrases

## 4.1. Introduction

A noun phrase consists of a head noun, which identifies the noun phrase, and various modifiers that function as extra grammatical elements to a noun phrase such as possessive modifiers, adjectives, numerals, quantifiers and determiners. NPs can consist most simply of a single noun, while very complex noun phrases may include various modifiers (Dryer 2007c: 151, Andrews 2007). This chapter is organized as follows: in §4.2, the structure of the noun phrase is described. The description includes the position of the head noun and its modifiers within an NP. Section 4.3 focuses on describing heads of noun phrases, which can be nouns, proper names, pronouns, and headless relative clauses. Various modifiers can occur within a noun phrase. Most of the modifiers are post-head modifiers including adjectives, nominals, numerals and quantifiers, inclusory pronominals, determiners, *marā* determiners and relative clauses. There is only one modifier that is positioned in the pre-head position, a possessive modifier. All modifiers are described further in §4.4.

The organization of this chapter in terms of the position and the structure of the head noun of NPs and its modifiers is illustrated in Figure 4.1.



PRE-HEAD MODIFIER	HEAD NOUN	POST-HEAD MODIFIERS
Possessive modifiers (§4.4.1)	Common nouns, Kinship terms/Body parts, Nouns, Proper Nouns, Pronouns, Headless Relative clauses, Demonstrative pronouns (§4.3)	Adjectives (§4.4.2.1)
		Nominal Modifiers (§4.4.2.2)
		Numeral/Quantifier (§4.4.2.3)
		Inclusory pronouns (§4.4.2.4)
		Determiners (§4.4.2.5)
		Mara (§4.4.2.6)
		Relative clauses (§4.4.2.7)

Figure 4.1. The structure of the noun phrase chapter.

## 4.2. The noun phrase: its internal structure

Wooi is a left-headed language: most of the modifiers are post-nominal and so occur to the right of the head in NPs. The order of post-nominal modifiers in Wooi is fixed and is as follows: adjective – numeral/quantifier – relative clause – determiners (demonstratives/deictics). The only pre-nominal modifier is the possessive marker-possessor of the indirect possessive construction. This order of noun phrase constituents is typologically consistent with the clausal word order: an SVO language always has post-nominal modifiers (Dryer 2007c, Givón 1984: 189). The structure of the noun phrase in Wooi is given in Figure 4.2.

(POSS-PSR) HEAD [N (N)/PRO/Headless RC] (Adj) (NUM/QUANT) (RC) (DET) (PRO) (* <i>mara</i> )
---

Figure 4.2. The internal structure of noun phrases in Wooi

The asterisk (\*) indicates that *mara* ‘that’ refers to an NP but is not exactly an internal component of an NP. It pragmatically functions to indicate the boundary of an NP and the predicate, especially when an NP is a complex NP. Mara ‘that’ is further described in §4.4.2.6.

A noun phrase can be simply a noun that is not modified by any modifiers. Nouns such as proper names (person names or place names) do not commonly take any modifiers, as in (1) and (2).

- (1) **Eni** *cawanteta* *ya* *marainteri* *tawa*  
 Eni ti-tawang-teta ya marainteri tawa  
 Eni 3SG-push-roll.down 1SG then [1SG]fall  
 ‘Eni pushed me down and I fell.’

- (2) **Ami** *ria* **Asua**  
 Ami ti-ra Asua  
 [1SG]mother 3SG-go Ansus  
 ‘My mother is going to Ansus.’

In (1) and (2), the person name *Eni* and place name *Asua* are single nouns functioning as an NP in the sentences. The common noun *Ami* ‘mother’ is also a single noun functioning as an NP. They syntactically function as object and subject in the clauses, respectively.

In the corpus, in NP can also consist of a single noun and a single modifier. The most frequent modifier in the corpus is the determiner, which can be a demonstrative pronoun or a demonstrative modifier. They occur to modify common nouns as in (3) and (4).

- (3) ...*biuy* *kepana* *ra* *vata* *na* **surat** **nei**, **kartas** **nei**  
 ti-buy kepa-a kira vata na surat ne-i kartas ne-i  
 3SG-carve hold-OBJ[NSG] until stay LOC letter PRX-SG paper PRX-SG  
 ‘...he carved and kept it in this letter, this paper...’ [lit. he has written their history and kept it in the history book, he is holding] [MARGA\_Kendi1\_JEN\_051]

- (4) **Asurang** **ninei** *hemuni* *na* *racune*  
 Asurang ning-ne-i he-t-mung=i na racune  
 Pig here-PRX-SG 3PL-PL-kill=3SG LOC last.night  
 ‘It is this pig that they killed last night.’

There are also instances where a series of modifiers occurs together with the head noun in an NP as in (5). In (5), the NP consists of the head noun followed by an adjective, a demonstrative modifier and a quantifier.

- (5) *Vaving paytuang vaw ey coung asurang vati*  
 Vaving paituang vau ei ti-oung asurang va-i  
 Woman old NEU[NSG] one 3SG-look.for pig NEU-SG  
 ‘An old woman is looking for a pig.’ [MARGA\_Kendi1\_JEN\_092]

In the corpus, there are no instances where all possible post-head modifiers occur together in an NP. Three modifiers still commonly occur in the corpus as in (5) but four or more modifiers rarely occur. The combination of the pre-head and the post-head modifiers in which the head noun indicates the possessed noun, is common: see (6).

- (6) *Nye wona katung nei kiongti husayo*  
 ne-i wona katung ne-i ti-kong=i hu-r-hayo  
 POSS-3SG.PSR dog small PRX-SG 3SG-COM=3SG 3DU-DU-look.at  
  
*kuy toples...*  
 kuyra toples  
 all jar  
 ‘His small dog and he looked at all the jars...’ [frogstory2\_JK\_JEN\_012-013]

The head of a noun phrase can be also a personal pronoun which functions as an argument in a clause as in (7). A free pronoun cannot occur with any modifiers. It stands independently to replace a noun/ noun phrase.

- (7) *Ramdempe hendeho tata na Wanyiapi*  
 Ramdempe he-t-re-ho tata na Wanyiapi  
 Yesterday 3PL-PL-eye-HO 1PL LOC Woinap  
 ‘Yesterday, they saw us in Woinap.’

A headless relative clause can also be the head of an NP in which it is just modified by a demonstrative modifier or a demonstrative pronoun as in (8). A further description of headless relative clause is provided in §11.3.3.2.

- (8) *[[Veve hanehoa na manu]<sub>RC</sub> nei]<sub>NP</sub> vo*  
 Veve hane-ho=a na manu ne-i vo  
 REL stomach-HO=NSG.OBJ LOC house PRX-SG FOC.NOM  
  
*Mery raruo Jon*  
 Mery raruo Jon  
 Meri cross.sibling John  
 ‘[The one] who I like at this house (this family) is Mary’s older brother, John.’

The verb *haneho* ‘like/remember’ in (8) is a type of verb that takes possessive morphology. The verbalization process is marked by the suffix *-ho* ‘HO’. This is further described in §6.5.

### 4.3. Heads of noun phrase

As shown in Figure 4.2, the head of a noun phrase can be a free noun whether a common noun or a proper noun, a bound morphologically complex noun, a compound noun and also a pronoun. In (9), the head of NPs are the free common nouns *ay* ‘tree’ and *tamang* ‘axe’.

- (9) *Hendobang* [*ay* *wampai*]<sub>NP</sub> *ho* [*tamang* *nei*]<sub>NP</sub>  
 he-t-robang ai wang-pa-i ho tamang ne-i  
 3PL-PL-cut tree there.2-DIST-SG INS axe PRX-SG  
 ‘They cut that tree with this axe.’

A proper noun functioning as the head of NP is illustrated in (1) and (2).

A morphologically complex noun can also function as a head of NP (Dryer 2007c: 177). This noun is referred to as the directly possessed noun. Kinship terms and body part nouns fall into this category. Examples (10) and (11) illustrate such nouns as the head of an NP.

- (10) *Atia* *cang* *aw* *na* [*varamu* *vati*]<sub>NP</sub> *e*  
 atia ti-ang au na vara-mu va-i e  
 fire 3SG-light 2SG LOC hand-2SG.PSR NEU-SG Q  
 ‘Did your hand get burnt?’ (lit. did the fire burn your hand?)

- (11) *Ariang* *wampai* *hiuva* [*hinyani*]<sub>NP</sub>  
 ariang wang-pa-i ti-huva hinya-n-i  
 child there.2-DIST-SG 3SG-disturb mother-3SG.PSR-SG.PSS  
 ‘The child disturbed his mother.’

The different complex nouns and their possessive structures as simply exemplified in (10-11) are further described in §5.3.1.

Coordinated structures, in which two nouns are coordinated by a coordinator, can also be the head of NPs, as in (12) and (13).

(12) *[Andi kong Agus] hunuing taung ve metang*  
 Andi kong Agus hu-r-nuing taung ve me-t-ang  
 Andy COM Agus 3DU-DU-roast sago for 2PL-PL-eat  
 ‘Andi and Agus roasted some sago for you to eat.’

(13) *Humbe ete tamang e*  
 humbe ete tamang e  
 machete or axe Q  
 ‘Machete or axe?’

In (12) and (13), two nouns are coordinated by the comitative coordinator *kong* ‘COM’ and disjunctive coordinator *ete* ‘or’. Comitative *kong* ‘COM’ is multifunctional in Wooi grammar. It can function as a conjunction as in (12), a verb (see §3.2.2 and Chapter 11), and a preposition (§3.3.3 and Chapter 13). However, all functions bear the comitative meaning. The same is true for *ete* ‘or’, which can coordinate two nouns as in (13), and also can be used to coordinate two clauses. This is further discussed in Chapter 11.

A free pronoun can be the head of an NP. They function to replace nouns referring to human and animate nouns. They can function syntactically as arguments in clauses (see Andrews, 2007a) as in (14) and (15).

(14) *Intene ai hia [haru]<sub>NP</sub> pa*  
 intene ai ti-ha haru pa  
 just.now FOC.NSG 3SG-call 3DU FOC  
 ‘It was just now that he/she called them.’

(15) *Botuva [hia] hendoy*  
 Bu-atuva hia he-t-roi  
 2SG-ask 3PL 3PL-PL-sing  
 ‘Ask them to sing!’

Syntactically, free pronouns function to mark the grammatical relation of object, as in (14) and (15) in which *haru* ‘3DU’ and *hia* ‘3PL’ are objects in the clause. Free pronouns are further described in terms of their word class category in §3.2.1.3, their morphological form in §6.3, and their grammatical relations in Chapter 8.

Headless relative clauses in Wooi can replace nouns as the head of noun phrases.

They usually form an NP with a modifying determiner as in (16).

- (16) *[Veve hemperang kutu aeng vanei]* *vo*  
 veve he-t-perang kutu ae-ng va-ne-i vo  
 REL 3PL-PL-cut cut.off leg-3SG.PSR NEU-PRX-SG FOC.NOM
- asurang wampai*  
 pig wang-pa-i  
 pig there.2-DIST-SG  
 ‘The one (pig) that they cut its leg is that pig.’

#### 4.4. Modifying head nouns within noun phrases

This section discusses the various functional morphemes/words that function in a noun phrase as modifiers of the head. As shown in Figure 4.2, there is only one modifier in the pre-head position, while the majority are in post-head position. The discussion will start with the pre-head modifier and then the post-head ones.

##### 4.4.1. Pre-head modifier

Wooi just has one pre-head modifier, which is the possessive marker. The possessive marker occurs in the indirect possessive construction. In the indirect possessive construction, a possessor does not attach to the head noun directly but to a possessive marker and this marker precedes the head noun. The pre-head modifier and the head noun form a possessive NP but it is also possible to analyze the possessed noun as the head of the NP. In this case, the possessive marker and the possessor function as a modifier, as in (17).

- (17) a. *Mandiriuy mambeja korisi*  
 ma-t-ririui ma-t-ve-jadi korisi  
 1PL.EXC-PL-gather 1PL.EXC-PL-VBLZ-become one
- karna [nemu o: onanuhara baba pa]*  
 karna ne-mu o onanuhara baba pa  
 because POSS-2SG.PSR FILL kindness big DIST[NSG]

<i>ha</i>	<i>nei</i>	<i>raria</i>	<i>ninei</i>
ha	ne-i	raria	ning-ne-i
day	PRX-SG	day.light	here-PRX-SG

‘We are gathering together as one because of your (God) kindness this afternoon’ [villagemeeting\_final prayer\_JEV]

- b. *Mateva*                      *vihiang*                      *pai*                      *baba* *mantaung*  
ma-t-eva                      vihiang                      pa-i                      baba      mantaung  
1PL.EXC-PL-ask.for      goodness                      DIST-SG      big      only
- ve*      *mane*                      *Piami*                      *veve* *ong*  
ve      ma-ne                      Piami                      veve      ong  
for      1PL.EXC.PSR-POSS      God.Almighty      REL      make
- tutu* *kuasa*                      *ma* *ve* *ong* *nu* *nei* ...  
tutu      kuasa                      mara      ve      ong      nu      ne-i  
with      power                      that      REL      make      place      PRX-SG
- ‘We thank you, our God, for creating this place with your mighty power...’  
[villagemeeting\_finalplayer\_JEV]

In (17) the possessor-possessive marker *nemu* ‘POSS-2SG.PSR’ functions as a possessive modifier to the head noun *onunuhara* ‘that big kindness.’ This is also true for *mane* ‘1PL.EXC.PSR-POSS’, which functions to modify the head noun *Piami* ‘God Almighty’ in (17b). This construction can also occur with two free nouns linked by a possessive marker as in (18) and (19).

- (18) *Bapa*                      *nye*                      *andang*  
bapa                      ne-i                      andang  
father                      POSS-3SG.PSR      mango  
‘(My) father’s mango.’ [id. 50 gardening\_JEV]

- (19) *Manu*                      *nye*                      *randaung*  
manu                      ne-i                      randaung  
house                      POSS-3SG.PSR      roof  
‘Roof of a house’

More on the indirect possessive construction is given in chapter 5, which also describes other types of possessive constructions.

#### 4.4.2. Post-head modifiers

This section describes the post-head modifiers in Wooi. It describes the types and the structure of modifiers within an NP. Figure 4.2, shown in §4.2, is necessarily a

simplification and this subsection, as well as illustrating the structure of NPs with post-head modifiers, will also describe the different possibilities of co-occurrence of post-head modifiers, including modifiers that must occur together and ones that cannot co-occur.

#### 4.4.2.1. Adjectives

In Wooi, some sets of adjectives can function as verbal predicates (see §3.2.2.2) and as modifiers to the head noun in noun phrases. When adjectives function as modifiers to the head noun, they always immediately follow the head noun. An NP cannot contain an adjectival modifier without a demonstrative modifier or a demonstrative pronoun. They must be structured together in order to function properly in the broad syntactic scopes, i.e. clausal and sentential scope as in (20).

- (20) *Ya neu pa [manu baba wampai]<sub>NP</sub>*  
 ya ne-u pa manu baba wang-pa-i  
 1SG POSS-1SG FOC house big there.2-DIST-SG  
 ‘The one that I possess is that big house.’

Having an adjectival modifier without a demonstrative pronoun or a demonstrative modifier co-occurring in an NP whether the head noun is definite or indefinite is ungrammatical in term of their syntactic scope, as in (21) and (22).

- (21) \**Ya neu pa manu baba*  
 Ya ne-u pa manu baba  
 1SG POSS-1SG FOC house big  
 ‘The one that I possess is that big house.’

- (22) \**Vaving paituang riora to pasar*  
 vaving paituang ti-rora to pasar  
 woman old 3SG-go to market  
 ‘The old woman is going to the market.’

Wooi allows two adjectives in the immediate position after the head noun as shown in (23). The adjective *baba* ‘big’ and *tariay* ‘tall’ together modify the head noun *angkati* ‘coconut’. These adjectives are semantically ordered, and the one describing size must be



adjacent to the head noun, followed by the adjective describing length. The order is fixed and cannot be randomly ordered as (24) shows.

(23) *Angkati baba tariay wampai*  
 angkati baba tariai wang-pa-i  
 coconut big tall there.2-DIST-SG  
 ‘The big tall coconut tree.’

(24) \**Angkati tariay baba wampai*

Wooi also does not allow more than two consecutive adjective modifiers in NPs.

In (23), two adjectival modifiers occur in juxtaposition. However, adjectives can also function as nominal modifiers within relative clauses, as in (25), (26) and (27).

(25) *Reho hiuntaray ve moma ve tariay wampai*  
 re-ho hinyontarai ve moma ve tariai wang-pa-i  
 eye.1SG-HO person REL small REL tall there.2-DIST-SG  
 ‘I saw the man who is thin and tall.’

(26) *Wa ve moma taroy wampai matei nyei ne*  
 wa ve moma taroi wang-pa-i mate-i ti-ne=i e  
 canoe REL small long there.2-DIST-SG who-SG 3SG-POSS-3SG Q  
 ‘Whose canoe that is small and long?’

(27) *Wa moma ve taroy wampai matei nyei ne*  
 wa moma ve taroi wang-pa-i mate-i ti-ne=i e  
 canoe small REL long there.2-DIST-SG who-SG 3SG-POSS-3SG Q  
 ‘Who possesses that small and long canoe?’

Semantically, the sentences in (25), (26) and (27) differ: different ways of relativization are used. Whenever an adjective is relativised, it gives specific/detailed information needed to specify the head noun. In (25), each of the adjectives takes a relative clause marker *ve* ‘REL’, meaning both adjectives are extra detail information that are needed to specify the head noun *hiuntaray* ‘person’ and each adjective separately modifies the head noun. In (26), the relative marker precedes both adjectives stressing both characteristics of the canoe. In (27), the head noun has been qualified as small and another attribute is highlighted in order to give more modification to the head noun. Further, the order of adjectives in (25), (26)

and (27) cannot be switched because Wooi just allows size immediately follows the head noun, then is followed by quality.

When an adjective is placed outside a noun phrase, it serves as a predicate and it will take subject prefixes as verbs do. This is illustrated in (28) and described further in §3.2.2.2.

- (28) *Angkati wampai beba ma teriay*  
 angkati wang-pa-i ti-baba mara ti-tariai  
 coconut there.2-DIST-SG 3SG-big then 3SG-tall  
 ‘The coconut tree is big and tall.’

#### 4.4.2.2. Nominal modifiers

Two lexical nouns can be adjacent to each other within a noun phrase. When an NP has two lexical nouns, one functions to modify the other. They also co-occur with other modifiers such as a demonstrative modifier, an inclusory pronominal and *mara* ‘that’ as in (29).

- (29) *Marga o: Kendi ne hia Kendi ne hia mara*  
 Marga o Kendi ne hia Kendi ne hia mara  
 Clan FILL Kendi PRX.NSG 3PL Kendi PRX.NSG 3PL that
- henda na o: nu Biak raw ti ma rey ...*  
 he-t-ra na o nu Biak rau pi=i ma rei  
 3PL-PL-go LOC FILL Island Biak sea DEI=SG hither land  
 ‘People of Kendi clan, people of Kendi clan come from the Biak Island...’  
 [MARGAs\_exp\_JEW]

In (29), two nouns *marga* ‘clan’ and *Kendi* ‘Kendi family’ are adjacent to each other. The noun *Kendi* functions as the modifier for the noun *marga* ‘clan’. Note that the filler *o* can flexibly fill the slot in between two nouns in which one modifies the other. When the two nouns function as compound word *marga Kendi* ‘Kendy clan’ the filler is not allowed to fill the slot in between the words. It must be placed after the NP, as in *marga Kendi ne hia o:...* ‘Kendy clan and its associates FILL...’ As nouns, each item can function as the head of an NP when standing by themselves, as in (30).

- (30) a. *Marga ne hia mara henda na Biak raw ti ma rey...*  
 b. *Kendi ne hia mara henda na Biak raw ti ma rey...*

When describing a person and their origin, the left most noun is the head noun and it is followed by the noun modifier and a demonstrative modifier as in (31).

- (31) a. *Hinyontaray*      *Wonyiap*      *pai*  
           hinyontarai      Wonyiap      pa-i  
           person            Woinap      DIST-SG            ‘The Woinap people.’
- b. *Ariang*              *Wooi Rawing*      *nei*  
           ariang              Wooi Rawing      ne-i  
           child                Wooi bay            PRX-SG            ‘This Wooi child.’

In (32) a and b, when describing place names, the head noun, which is the place name, can be modified by a demonstrative modifier (a), but not a demonstrative pronoun (b).

- (32) a.            *Wonyiap*      *pai*  
                   Wonyiap      pa-i  
                   Woinap      DIST-SG            ‘that Woinap (village)’
- b.            \**Wooi Rawing*      *ninei*  
                   Wooi Rawing      ning-ne-i  
                   Wooi bay            here-PRX-SG            ‘this Wooi (village)’

Some nouns when used as modifiers in place names denote spatial orientation, and so in (33) *raw* ‘sea’ denotes a seaward direction. The noun *hiha* ‘mainland’, as in (34) also denotes a landward direction, especially the mainland of New Guinea.

- (33) *Nu*      *Biak*      *raw*      *piti*  
       nu      Biak      rau      pi=i  
       Island Biak      sea      DEI=SG            ‘The Biak Island.’

- (34) *Hiha*              *Wondamang*  
       mainland          Wondama              ‘The mainland Wondama.’

In (33), the head noun *nu* ‘island’ and two nominal modifiers co-occur with the deictic *piti*. This NP indicates the whole meaning of Biak Island, which is toward the Pacific Ocean as the frame of orientation. This will be described further in Chapter 13.

The head noun and the modified noun can form a compound noun that also acts as a single semantic unit which may be modified by a relative clause, as in (35). However, this

is not the case of having *nu Biak* in (33) or *hiha Wondamang* in (34) to form a single semantic unit. Thus, the other modifier cannot be relativized.

- (35) *Hinyontarai Wonyiap ve baba pai*  
 hinyontarai Wonyiap ve baba pa-i  
 person Woinap REL big DIST-SG  
 ‘The big Woinap man.’ (lit. the Woinap man who is big)

*Hinyontarai Wonyiap* in (35) is a compound noun. To delete the relative clause and form the NP with noun + adjective + demonstrative modifier is unacceptable in Wooi as in (36). The native speakers understand the phrase but they avoid using it and always prefer to use the one in (35).

- (36) \**Hinyontaray Wonyiap baba pai*  
 hinyontarai Woinap baba pa-i  
 person Woinap big DIST-SG  
 ‘The big Woinap man.’

The noun-noun juxtaposition is a compound noun that cannot have an adjective intervening as in (37) nor can one of the nouns be relativized, as in (38).

- (37) \**Hinyontaray baba Wonyiap pai*  
 hinyontarai baba Wonyiap pa-i  
 person big Woinap DIST-SG  
 ‘The big Woinap man.’
- (38) \**Hinyontaray ve Wonyiap baba pai*  
 hinyontarai ve Wonyiap baba pa-i  
 person REL Woinap big DIST-SG  
 ‘The big Woinap man.’

#### 4.4.2.3. Numerals and quantifiers

Numerals and quantifiers occur in the same slot in a noun phrase and cannot co-occur. Numerals refer to a definite number modifying the head noun. Quantifiers refer to indefinite quantification, such as ‘many’, ‘few’, and ‘little’. Numerals are further described in Chapter 3. In this section, their syntactic functions as modifiers is briefly described.

#### 4.4.2.3.1. Numerals modifying nouns

A numeral modifier always follows a noun. A numeral modifier can be the only modifier within an NP, as in (39) or it can modify the head noun together with a demonstrative pronoun as in (40).

- (39) *Buku korisi Jon coni ve Jimi*  
 buku korisi Jon ti-ong=i ve Jimi  
 book one John 3SG-give=3SG for Jimmy  
 ‘It is one book that John gave to Jimmy.’

- (40) *Kami toru yampa ai nuing*  
 kami toru yang-pa ai nuing  
 stone three there.1-DIST.NSG FOC.NSG [1SG]burn  
  
*ve aw yam pa*  
 ve au yang pa  
 for 2SG there pa  
 ‘Those ones are three stones I burnt for you there.’

When it co-occurs with an adjective, the order of elements is head noun, adjective, numeral, and demonstrative pronoun as shown in (41).

- (41) *Agus tamani cong [manu baba*  
 Agus tama-n-i ti-ong manu baba  
 Agus father-3SG.PSR-SG.PSS 3SG-make house big  
  
*koru wampa]*  
 koru wang-pa  
 two there.2-DIST.NSG  
 ‘Agus’ father built those two big houses’

The order of modifiers is fixed so placing numeral before the adjective is ungrammatical in Wooi as in (42).

- (42) \**Manu koru baba wampa*  
 manu koru baba wang-pa  
 house two big there.2-DIST.NSG  
 ‘Those two big houses.’

The numeral can be relativized within an NP. To do so changes the meaning and the numeral then acts as an ordinal number in which the head noun is projected to be in a sequenced order, translated in English as 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup>, etc. This can be illustrated in (43) and (44).

(43) *Hiuntaray vekoru pai*  
 hinyontarai ve-koru pa-i  
 man REL-two DIST-SG  
 ‘The second man.’

(44) *Manu vemuana pai*  
 manu ve-muana pa-i  
 house REL-four DIST-SG  
 ‘The fourth house.’

Unlike in (43) and (44), a numeral modifier may behave morphologically like a verb when it takes the verbalizer *ve-* and the person markers. This occurs within a noun phrase and the construction carries plural number association. It cannot be singular. Semantically, this construction carries the meaning of a certain number or multiplication of people as shown in (45).

(45) *Ha [hinyontaray hembeding vane hia]*  
 ha hinyontarai he-t-ve-ding va-ne hia  
 from person 3PL-PL-VBLZ-five NEU-PRX[NSG] 3PL

*piang vetau hembetoru to*  
 piang ve-tau he-t-ve-toru to  
 already VBLZ-know 3PL-PL-VBLZ-three PERF  
 ‘from those five people, I have already known three of them’

In (45), the person marker *he-* ‘3PL’ attaches to the *ve-*numeral, and shows the person and number agreement to the inclusory pronominal *hia* ‘3PL’ in the same NP. The agreement indexes the head noun *hinyontarai* ‘man’ in terms of person and number.

#### 4.4.2.3.2. Quantifiers modifying nouns

Quantifiers function to express indefinite quantification. In a noun phrase, a quantifier takes the same position as the numeral modifier, which is after an adjective modifier and before the demonstrative/deictic. It cannot co-occur with the numeral quantifiers.

- (46) *Ve Amalia vo cong angkati paw,*  
ve Amalia vo ti-ong angkati pau  
for Amalia FOC.NOM 3SG-give coconut many,
- mae ve Yuli vo cong angkati korisi mantaung*  
mae ve Yuli vo ti-ong angkati korisi mantaung  
but for Yuli FOC.NOM 3SG-give coconut one only  
‘As for Amalia, she gave many coconuts, but as for Yuli, she just gave one (coconut)’
- (47) *Buong garam kateha ve ya vo*  
bu-ong garam kateha ve ya o  
2SG-give salt few for 1SG Q  
‘Could you please give me some salt?’

As quantifiers are not definite, they cannot be followed by demonstratives/deictics as the definite number modifiers do.

A quantifier can have the person marker attached to it like an adjective-verb does. It only occurs for animate nouns and for non-singular forms as in (48) and (49).

- (48) [*Vaving pe hempaw hia*] *henda wampa*  
vaving pe he-pau hia he-t-ra wang-pa  
woman EXIST 3PL-many 3PL 3PL-PL-walk there.2-DIST.NSG  
‘There are many women walking there.’
- (49) [*Wona pe hempaw hia*] *hetapay*  
wona pe he-pau hia he-t-apai  
dog EXIST 3PL-many 3PL 3PL-run  
‘There are many dogs running’

#### 4.4.2.4. Inclusive pronominals

The term *inclusive pronominals* or *pronouns* refers to ‘a pronominal form that identifies a total set of participants including a lexical NP it modifies, a single speaker, addressee, or third person’ (Lichtenberk 2002: 2). Inclusive pronouns can modify the head noun. Semantically, inclusive pronouns within NPs refer to human/animate head nouns. Structurally, inclusive pronominal constructions in Woiwoi have two types. First, an inclusive pronoun occupies the final slot in the noun phrase template, as in Figure 4.2 when

*mara* ‘that’ is not present, and second, an inclusory pronoun is represented in an agreement between the NP and the subject marker on verbs.

Inclusory pronouns mostly index non-singular number associated with the head noun within NPs, but do not refer to any social relations. However, in a restricted case, an object argument consisting of a person name can be modified by a singular inclusory pronominal for the second and third person. This is typical Austronesian of Cenderawasih Bay inclusory pronouns as found in Biak (Mofu 2008, van den Heuvel 2006), Ambai (Karubaba 2008). Papuan Malay (Sawaki and Karubaba 2012) also has inclusory pronouns. In broader typological perspective, inclusory pronominals referring to associative plural are commonly found in the Philippine languages (Reid 2009), Australian languages (Singer 2001) and other languages (Vassilieva 2005 and Lichtenberk 2000).

In (50) and (51), the noun phrase with an inclusory pronoun functions as the topicalized subject, which agrees with the subject marked on the verb. Syntactically, an inclusory pronoun occurs in the phrase-final position, other than *mara*, as in (50) and (51). If there is a demonstrative modifier co-occurring in an NP, it precedes the inclusory pronoun and they agree in number feature, as in (50).

- (50) *Kirihio ne hia o: henda tuva*  
 Kirihio ne hia o he-t-ra tuva  
 Kirihio PRX[NSG] 3PL FILL 3PL-PL-go go.after
- rema o: te hena kuyra*  
 rea=ma o interi he-t-na kuiru  
 again=hither FILL then 3PL-PL-live together  
 ‘...The Kirihio people left and came after and lived together...’ [MARGAs\_exp\_JEW]

- (51) *Agus kong Melky haru hurobang ay wampai*  
 Agus kong Melky haru hu-r-robang ai wang-pa-i  
 Agus COM Melky 3DU 3DU-DU-cut tree there.2-DIST-SG
- na ramdempe*  
 LOC ramdempe  
 LOC yesterday  
 ‘Agus and Melky cut the tree yesterday.’



A noun phrase with an inclusory pronoun may also function as the object argument as in (52) and (53). In (52), the inclusory pronoun occurs in the object position and associates with the third person plural *hia* ‘3PL’ in (52) and in some cases, an inclusory pronominal may associate with singular number in the object position as it occurs with the second person singular *aw* ‘2SG’ in (53).

(52) *Markus riora Jon hia*  
 markus ti-rora Jon hia  
 Markus 3SG-hit John 3PL  
 ‘Markus hit John and associates.’

(53) *Hetong buku ne ve Agus aw*  
 he-t-ong buku ne ve Agus au  
 3PL-PL-give book PRX[NSG] for Agus 2SG  
 ‘They gave these books to you.’ (you refers to Agus)

It may also refer to non-human animate nouns, mostly animals such as dogs, pigs, fish, etc.

(54) *Wona paw hia henjuko ariang ve moma pai*  
 wona pau hia he-ruko ariang ve moma pa-i  
 dog many 3PL 3PL-chase child REL small DIST-SG  
 ‘That dog and its associates chased the small child.’

Inclusory constructions may also occur when an NP subject agrees with the subject marker on verbs. However, there is incompatibility in number feature between the NP subject and that of the subject marker. The NP subject is always singular and the plurality shown by the subject marker on verbs. Thus, the integrated number is semantically interpreted as plural and form the inclusory plural, as in (55) and (56).

(55) *Agus hemararising tata*  
**Agus** **he-t**-mararising tata  
 August 3PL-PL-like 1PL.INC  
 ‘August and associates like us.’

(56) *Eni turutang Sutri kio buku kong Jimi*  
**Eni** **tu-r**-utang Sutri ti-ko buku kong Jimi  
 Eni 1DU.INC-DU-ask Sutri 3SG-take book from Jimmy  
 ‘Eni and I asked Sutri to take a book from Jimmy.’

In (55) and (56), the NP subject, Agus and Eni, have singular number and they become plural in translation when the plural subject marker, he- ‘3PL’ and tu- ‘1DU.INC’ on verbs form the inclusory constructions.

#### 4.4.2.5. Determiners

Determiners are constituents of a noun phrase that may be divided into three major categories – horizontal deictic demonstratives, vertical deictic demonstratives and non-distal deictic demonstratives. The first category are those that are morphologically predictable in the paradigm, i.e. deictic adverbs, demonstrative modifiers, and demonstrative pronouns. Semantically, this category shows distal orientation, i.e. proximate versus distal in the horizontal landscape. The second category is deictics showing vertical orientation. Semantically, such a category refers to the location of the thing whether above a person’s shoulder or below a person’s shoulder. The third category is deictics that do not refer to distal category. They all occupy the same position within a noun phrase. Determiners and their structures are further discussed in chapter 13.

#### 4.4.2.6. The clausal determiner *mara* ‘that’

*Mara* is a determiner. It has the following features: 1) it functions as a boundary of an NP in a clause, 2) it is not a phrasal-level determiner, like a deictic or a demonstrative (see §4.2), and 3) it is a discourse-type determiner that only occurs on the discourse level. For convenience this determiner is translated as *that* in English. *Mara* ‘that’ only occurs in the discourse in which the subject NP is composed of a complex NP which seems to have a dependent clause, i.e. relative clause, embedded in it and still have a predicate that is composed of a long clause. *Mara* ‘that’ functions as a discourse determiner to link the NP and the predicate. It cannot occur when the NP is a simple NP such as a single noun or an NP with lexical modifiers. In (55), *mara* ‘that’ functions as the determiner to signal a

complex NP formed by the head noun and the relative clause within a nominal clause. The same function of *mara* occurs also in the same clause type as in (56).

- (57) *Marga veve o: pampong to rawing nei ma mara*  
 Marga veve o pampong to rawing ne-i ma mara  
 Clan REL FILL first to bay PRX-SG hither that
- Wihyawar vaw hia*  
 Wihyawari vau hia  
 Wihyawari NEU[NSG] 3PL
- ‘The clan that was first came to this bay is the clan of Wihyawari.’  
 [MARGAs\_exp\_JEW]

- (58) *Trus yo marga ve tuva reang mara marga veve*  
 trus o marga ve tuva rea=ng mara marga veve  
 then FILL clan REL come.after again=LEG that clan REL
- koru mara marga o: Kendi ne hia.*  
 koru mara clan o Kendi ne hia  
 two that clan FILL Kendi PRX[NSG] 3PL
- ‘Then, the clan that came after again, the second clan, was the clan of Kendi.’  
 [MARGAs\_exp\_JEW]

*Mara* ‘that’ can also occur in a verbal predicate clause. Yet, the subject is a complex NP as in the following example.

- (59) *teri marga veve o: ve muana mara a: Wermong*  
 interi marga veve o ve muana mara a Wermong  
 then clan REL FILL REL four that a Werimon
- ne hia*  
 ne hia  
 PRX[NSG] 3PL
- ‘Then the clan that was fourth (arrived in Wooi) was the clan of Werimon.’  
 [MARGAs\_exp\_JEW]

The determiner *mara* ‘that’ can also interchangeably be used with the focus particle *vo* in the situation where the subject NP is a moderately complex NP and it pragmatically specifies a prominent focus to the modified subject. This can be seen in (58) and (59).

- (60) *Horota ne hia mara henda na o:*  
 Horota ne hia mara he-t-ra na o  
 Horota PRX[NSG] 3PL that 3PL-PL-go LOC FILL

*hiha*            *Wandamang*  
 hiha            Wandamang  
 mainland      Wandamen  
 ‘The Horota clan came from the mainland Wandamen.’ [MARGAs\_exp\_JEW]

(61) *Wermong*    *ne*                    *hia*    *vo*                    *henda*    *na*  
 Wermong        ne                      hia    vo                      he-t-ra    na  
 Werimon        PRX[NSG]        3PL    FOC.NOM        3PL-PL-go    LOC

*pei*    *no*    *a:*    *hiha*                    *Sorong*    *riti*                    *ma*  
 pe-i    o    a    hiha                      Sorong        ri-i                      ma  
 UP-SG   FILL    FILL    mainland              Sorong        outside-SG            hither

‘It is the Werimon clan that came from the mainland Sorong.’ [MARGAs\_exp\_JEW]

As it is a discourse determiner, it cannot occur in the context where a phrase is isolated. To do so, it is not grammatical in Woi, as in (60) and (61).

(62) \**Wona*        *baba*    *mara*  
 Wona            baba    mara  
 Dog            big    that  
 ‘That big dog.’

(63) \**Muang*        *veve*    *ria*    *to*                    *wampa*                    *ra*    *mara*  
 Muang            veve    ti-ra    to                      wang-pa                    ra    mara  
 Man            REL    3SG-go to                    there.2-DIST[NSG]        tither    that  
 ‘The man who is going there.’

#### 4.4.2.7. Relative clauses

A relative clause is a clausal post-head modifier of NPs. It is an embedded clause within a noun phrase. Relative clauses are further discussed in Chapter 11. However, for convenience, some relative clause examples are introduced here to illustrate the noun modification function.

Relative clauses are marked by the relative marker *ve(ve)* ‘REL’. Relative clauses are left-headed modifiers, and function to give specific information about the head noun. They always occur in between the head noun and the demonstratives/deictics as in (62) and (63).

(64) *Vaving paytuang [veve mahoy na ay baba] wampai vava*  
 Vaving paituang veve mahoi na ay baba wang-pa-i vava  
 Woman old REL sit LOC tree big there.2-DIST-SG under  
 ‘The old woman who is sitting under the big tree.’

(65) *Ha [ve vihieng] nei*  
 Ha ve vihieng ne-i  
 Day REL good PRX-SG  
 ‘The good day.’

There are two kinds of the *ve(ve)* constructions, namely a) *ve+verb* as in (62) where the verb is inflected and is a relative clause proper in which the verb is predicative and b) *ve+adjective/numeral/demosntrative*, where the adjective/numeral is not inflected and it is not a clause as the adjective or numeral is not predicative, as in (63) and (64). In (64), the *ve* construction provides information about the order of time sequence: the first people came to settle in Woi.

(66) *Marga [veve o: pampong to rawing] nei*  
 Marga veve o pampong to rawing ne-i  
 clan REL FILL first to bay PRX-SG

*ma mara Wihyawari vaw tina*  
 ma mara Wihyawari vau ti-i-na  
 hither that Wihyawari NEU[NSG] COP-3SG-3  
 ‘The clan who first (came) to this bay was Wihyawari’ [MARGAs\_exp\_JEW]

In the RC, it is possible to have a *ve* construction with an adjective that also functions as a modifier, as in (65).

(67) *...parari marga [ve o: ve moma] vaw*  
 parari marga ve o ve moma vau  
 like clan REL FILL REL small NEU[NSG]

*hia Kapitaraw ne hia mara...*  
 hia kapitaraw ne hia mara  
 3PL Kapitaraw PRX[NSG] 3PL that  
 ‘...like a clan which is small such as the clan of Kapitaraw...’ [MARGAs\_exp\_JEW]

The position of the head noun can be specified by the *ve* construction with demonstrative pronoun/deictic within an NP as in (66).

- (68) *Buku [veve ninei] matei nyei ne*  
 buku veve ning-ne-i mate-i ti-ne=i e  
 book REL here-PRX-SG who-SG 3SG-POSS-3SG Q  
 ‘Whose book is it?’

In a headless relative clause, the relative clause relativizes the whole clause including a temporal adverb and the verb. Both the adverb and the verb must take relative marker *ve*. Thus, there can be two relativization processes within an NP as shown in (67).

- (69) [*Veve ramdempe ve hay*] *vati vo i,*  
 veve ramdempe ve hai va-i vo i  
 REL yesterday REL cry NEU-SG FOC.NOM 3SG  
  
*ya va*  
 ya va  
 1SG NEG  
 ‘The one who cried yesterday was him, not me.’

As the adjective being modified is the adjective that behaves like a verb, which takes subject marking, the gap strategy is applied. More on relative clauses and the gap strategy is described in Chapter 11. More on syntactic properties of relative clauses is discussed in §11.3.3.

# Chapter 5 – Possession and possessive constructions

## 5.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses possession and possessive constructions in Woi. It captures the broad semantic and pragmatic concepts of possession and how they are represented in the morpho-syntax. The term ‘possession’ in general refers to a semantic relationship between two nouns in a wide range of relational concepts (Dixon 2010: 262, Aikhenvald and Dixon 2013). It is common that languages – in their grammar - express various semantic relationships in the same formal construction as it uses for expressing ‘belonging’ or ‘ownership’ (Dixon 2010, Payne 1997, Stassen 2009, Lichtenberk 1983, 1985, Haspelmath 2008). For the purposes of this chapter, the term ‘possessive construction’ is used to refer to the set of morpho-syntactic constructions which encode not only the ownership relationship, but also cover various other kinds of semantic relations.

This chapter includes the following related discussions on possessive constructions in Woi. In §5.2, semantic, pragmatic and structural concepts of possessive constructions in Woi are discussed. This section focuses on discussing the semantic concept of alienability as opposed to the morpho-syntactic concept of direct and indirect constructions. In §5.3, the discussion describes types of possessive constructions in Woi. It covers direct possessive construction (§5.3.1) and indirect possessive construction (§5.3.2), the mixed type construction (§5.3.3) and noun-noun juxtaposition (§5.3.4). As number marking is essential

in discussing possessive constructions, section 5.4 describes number marking and its structural and semantic properties that have relevance for the analysis of possessive constructions in Woi. In section 5.5, the realization of zero marking of the first person and the third person singular in the morphological paradigm of possessive construction is elaborated on. This includes the reanalysis of zero marking in the first person singular. In §5.6, possessive constructions are broadly discussed at the clausal level. This discussion looks at how possessive predicates are constructed, how possessive predicates take arguments, how they present in the existential construction, and the pragmatically motivated applicative constructions.

## 5.2. Semantic, pragmatic and structural concepts

In Woi, there is a set of possessive constructions which represent a wide range of semantic concepts that can be broadly labelled possession. These include:

- (a) Ownership
  - (1) *Ne* *manu*  
 POSS[1SG.PSR] house  
 ‘My house’
- (b) Body part relations
  - (2) *Varamu*  
 vara-mu  
 hand-2SG.PSR  
 ‘Your hand’
- (c) Kinship relations
  - (3) *Hentapumi*  
 he-tapu-m-i  
 3PL.PSR-grandparent-PSR.NSG-PSS.SG  
 ‘Their grandparent’



- (d) Part-whole relations
- (4) *Kursi aeng*  
 kursi ae-N  
 chair leg-3SG.PSR  
 ‘Leg of a chair’
- (e) Associative possession
- (5) *Hanengvay*  
 hane-N-vay  
 stomach-2SG.PSR-??  
 ‘My feeling’

Out of a wide range of semantic concepts of possession, there are two main semantic relationships of possession: alienable and inalienable. They are defined based on the dependency of possessor and possessee relation (see Gebregziabher 2012). Possessive constructions such as in (1) and (2) show the difference between alienable and inalienable possession. Alienable possession (1) indicates that the possessor and the possessee do not show a dependent semantic relationship and both the possessor and the possessee are semantically independent in their lexical meaning. However, in (2), inalienable possession shows a dependent semantic relationship between the possessor and the possessee. In Woi, this semantic concept is expressed by the syntactic structure for alienable possession and morphological structure for inalienable possession. These two semantic relations however cannot be simply described in Woi. Thus, the possessive relations of two referents (i.e. possessor and possessee) are best described in two common morpho-syntactic realisations in Woi that are labelled: direct (6) and indirect (7) constructions.

- (6) *Hinyani*  
 hinya-n-i  
 mother-3SG.PSR-SG.PSS  
 ‘His/her mother.’



- d. Lastly, for pragmatic reasons, an inalienable noun can become an alienable noun (see §5.6.4). In some constructions, the direct type can be changed into the indirect type. This is common in Wooi when a direct type of noun is pragmatically seen as a common noun which structurally and semantically belongs to the indirect type. For instance, a direct type of noun used in the applicative construction acts as an indirect type of noun. Thus, it takes the indirect construction.

Second, these facts show that possessive constructions in Wooi do not semantically have a one-to-one mapping onto a possessive construction. Many languages also show the same phenomena in which possessive constructions can be varied depending on structural and semantic properties (O'Connor 2003, Lichtenberk 1983, 2009a, 2009b). Therefore, direct and indirect possessive constructions are preferably used to describe the formal morpho-syntax of possessive constructions in Wooi (see also Donohue and Schapper 2008).

Direct and indirect possessive constructions have two morphological and syntactic formal properties. These formal properties can be identified by the following two structural parameters:

- (i) Various order of the possessor (PSR) and the possessee (PSS) in association with number category – singular (SG) and non-singular (NSG) and;
- (ii) Presence of the possessive marker (POSS) *ne*, distinguishing the direct and indirect types of constructions: the direct construction has no POSS *ne* and the indirect construction has the POSS *ne*.

Direct possession is expressed in Wooi morphologically, i.e. at the level of word structure in which the  $SUF_{PSR}$  attaches directly to the possessed noun. The structure of possessor and possessed noun shows distributive exponence as in (9). The exponent

features, i.e. person and number features indicating possessor and possessed noun, are distributed in the internal word structure.

- |     |    |  |    |   |
|-----|----|--|----|---|
| (9) | a. | <i>Tamamui</i><br>tama-mu-i<br>father-2SG.PSR-SG.PSS<br>'Your father.' | b. | <i>Jon hentamami</i><br>Jon he-tama-m-i<br>John 3PL.PSR-father-NSG.PSR-SG.PSS<br>'John and associates' father.' |
|-----|----|--|----|---|

In (9), distributive exponence, i.e. person and number indicating possessor and possessee are different between singular and non-singular forms (see §5.4). However, the directness concept may be seen as an icon of the closer conceptual link between possessor and possessee in the structural level as indicated by the semantic concept of inalienable or inherent nouns (Payne 1997: 105, Haiman 1983).

Indirect possession in Woi is realized in syntax; i.e., by a phrasal unit, where the possessor is not an affix to the possessed noun (Donohue and Schapper 2008, Lichtenberk 1983). This is exemplified in (10) in which the possessor itself can be a bound form, however, but is attached to a possessive marker. In short, the possessed noun and the possessor are separate words. They form a possessive phrase as in (10). For instance, the word *manu* 'house' is an 'autonomous' word semantically. It can be indirectly possessed. This further discussed in §5.3.2.

- |      |                   |                         |                   |
|------|-------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|
| (10) | NP <sub>PSR</sub> | POSS-SUF <sub>PSR</sub> | NP <sub>PSS</sub> |
|      | <i>(Jon)</i>      | <i>nye</i>              | <i>manu</i>       |
|      | Jon               | ne-i                    | manu              |
|      | John              | POSS-3SG.PSR            | house             |
|      | 'John's house'    |                         |                   |

The possessive construction in Woi includes the following elements: 'possessive constructions', 'possessor', 'possessee/possessed noun', and 'possessive marker.' These elements are shown in (10). Looking at (10), the components are further described as follows:

- (a) Possessive construction refers to the whole construction showing the relationship between two referents (i.e. possessor and possessee). The relationship between the NP<sub>PSR</sub> and NP<sub>PSS</sub> is expressed by the possessive particle POSS-SUF<sub>PSR</sub> (cf. Lichtenberk 1983, 2009a, 2009b).
- (b) The possessive marker (POSS) is expressed by the morpheme used to link NP<sub>PSR</sub> and NP<sub>PSS</sub>: – the marker always agrees with the possessor affixes (cf. possessive classifiers in Lichtenberk 2009a and 2009b).
- (c) Possessor (PSR) reference is indexed by the obligatory affixes that attach to the possessive marker, which together forms the possessive particle in the indirect possessive construction and it affixes to the possessed noun (PSS) in the direct possessive construction. The possessor affixes may agree with an NP<sub>PSR</sub> preceding it. The possessor markers in Wooi are illustrated in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1. Possessor markers in the possessive constructions.

Person	Possessor Marking		
	SG	DU	PL
1.EXC	-	<i>u-</i>	<i>ma-</i>
1.INC	$\emptyset$	<i>tu-</i>	<i>ta-</i>
2	<i>-mu, &lt;n&gt;</i>	<i>mu-</i>	<i>me-</i>
3	<i>-n, <math>\emptyset</math>, -i</i>	<i>hu-</i>	<i>he-</i>

Table 5.1 is also presented in §3.2.1.3.2 in the context of bound pronouns.

- (d) Possessee/possessed nouns (PSS) can be encoded by a noun within the NP that is syntactically positioned after the possessive particle in the indirect possessive construction and is encoded by the noun stem in the direct possessive construction.

## 5.3. Types of possessive constructions

### 5.3.1. Direct possessive constructions

There are three subtypes of direct possessive constructions in Woiwoi based on the morphological structure of the construction. Each construction is associated with particular semantic classes of nouns, and so the subtypes are: kinship terms (§5.3.1.1), body parts with simple morphological structure (Type 1; §5.3.1.2), and compound body part terms, known as associative body parts (Type 2, §5.3.1.3). In §5.3.1.3.2, possessive constructions with human body products are described and it is followed by a description of possessive constructions with cognitive nouns in §5.3.1.3.3. Possessive constructions described in §5.3.1.3, §5.3.1.3.2 and §5.3.1.3.3 all involve compound nouns and they are morphologically possessed in a different construction from that of the direct possessive construction.

#### 5.3.1.1. Kinship term nouns

Kinship terms that refer to consanguinal – blood – relationships are directly possessed in Woiwoi. This category includes the parental or ascending kin terms such as *amai* ‘father’, *hinyai* ‘mother’, *humoi* ‘father’s sister’, *amarai* ‘mother’s brother’, and *apui* ‘grandparent’; as well as the children or descending kin terms such as son, daughter, niece and nephew which are all called *antu* ‘children’. Some kinship terms are shown in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2. The paradigm of the direct possessive constructions in kinship terms

Person/number	<i>tamai</i> ‘father’	<i>hinyai</i> ‘mother’	<i>humoi</i> ‘aunt’	<i>raru</i> ‘opposite-sex sibling’
1SG	<i>Tamai</i>	<i>hinyai</i>	<i>humoi</i>	<i>raru</i>
2SG	<i>tama-mu-i</i>	<i>hinya-mu-i</i>	<i>humo-mu-i</i>	<i>raru-mu</i>
3SG	<i>tama-n-i</i>	<i>hinya-n-i</i>	<i>humo-n-i</i>	<i>raru-ng</i>
1DU.EXC	<i>un-tama-m-i</i>	<i>u-sinya-m-i</i>	<i>u-sumo-m-i</i>	<i>un-daru-m</i>
1DU.INC	<i>tun-tama-m-i</i>	<i>tu-sinya-m-i</i>	<i>tu-sumo-m-i</i>	<i>tun-daru-m</i>
2DU	<i>mun-tama-m-i</i>	<i>mu-sinya-m-i</i>	<i>mu-sumo-m-i</i>	<i>mun-daru-m</i>
3DU	<i>hun-tama-m-i</i>	<i>hu-sinya-m-i</i>	<i>hu-sumo-m-i</i>	<i>hun-daru-m</i>
1PL.EXC	<i>man-tama-m-i</i>	<i>ma-sinya-m-i</i>	<i>ma-sumo-m-i</i>	<i>man-daru-m</i>
1PL.INC	<i>tan-tama-m-i</i>	<i>ta-sinya-m-i</i>	<i>ta-sumo-m-i</i>	<i>tan-daru-m</i>
2PL	<i>men-tama-m-i</i>	<i>me-sinya-m-i</i>	<i>me-sumo-m-i</i>	<i>men-daru-m</i>
3PL	<i>hen-tama-m-i</i>	<i>he-sinya-m-i</i>	<i>he-sumo-m-i</i>	<i>hen-daru-m</i>

Table 5.2 shows that the possessive paradigms exhibit the distributed exponents of person-number marking. There is only the first person singular that does not have person-number marking of the possessor. It takes a zero suffix.

While most affinal relation terms are indirectly possessed, the following two affinal relations are directly possessed as in (11).

- (11) a. *Tero*  
 tero  
 in.law[1SG.PSR]  
 ‘My in law.’
- b. *Teromu*  
 tero-mu  
 in.law-2SG.PSR  
 ‘Your in law.’
- c. *Hawa*  
 hawa  
 spouse[1SG.PSR]  
 ‘My spouse.’
- d. *Hawani*  
 hawa-n-i  
 spouse-3SG.PSR-SG.PSS  
 ‘His/Her spouse.’

*Amarai* ‘uncle’ and *antu* ‘child’ have irregular direct possessive constructions in the singular forms. They do not follow the regular pattern of taking the possessor suffixes shown in Table 5.2. *Amarai* ‘uncle’ has irregular possessed stems indicating first, second and third person as in (12) a, b and c.

- |      |    |   |    |  |    |   |
|------|----|---|----|--|----|---|
| (12) | a. | <i>Amarai</i><br>uncle.1SG.PSR<br>'My uncle.' | b. | <i>Nemarai</i><br>uncle.2SG.PSR<br>'Your uncle.' | c. | <i>Nerai</i><br>uncle.3SG.PSR<br>'His/Her uncle.' |
|------|----|---|----|--|----|---|

Expected forms such as those found in Table 5.2 are ungrammatical here, as shown in (13)

a, b, and c:

- |      |    |   |    |   |    |  |
|------|----|---|----|---|----|--|
| (13) | a. | * <i>marai</i><br>mara-i<br>uncle[1SG.PSR]-SG.PSS<br>'my uncle' | b. | * <i>maramui</i><br>mara-mu-i<br>uncle-2SG.PSR-SG.PSS<br>'your uncle' | c. | * <i>marani</i><br>mara-n-i<br>uncle-3SG.PSR-SG.PSS<br>'his/her uncle' |
|------|----|---|----|---|----|--|

*Antung* 'child' marks second and third person identically as opposed to first person as in

(14)a, b and c.

- |      |    |  |    |   |    |  |
|------|----|--|----|---|----|--|
| (14) | a. | <i>Antu</i><br>antu<br>child[1SG.PSR]<br>'My child.' | b. | <i>Antung</i><br>antu-N<br>child-2SG.PSR<br>'Your child.' | c. | <i>Antung</i><br>antu-N<br>child-3SG.PSR<br>'his/her child.' |
|------|----|--|----|---|----|--|

Unlike the singular forms, the non-singular forms of *amarai* 'uncle' and *antu* 'child' follow the common pattern of the non-singular form described in §5.4.2. These constructions exhibit the distributed exponents in terms of person-number features. The person-number of the possessor prefixes to the possessed noun and the number featuring the possessor and the possessee follow the possessed noun.

### 5.3.1.2. Simple body part nouns

Body parts such as *ae* 'leg', *vara* 'hand', *hore* 'mouth', *nanamu* 'beard', *tere* 'tooth', *hamaru* 'tight', *hi* 'penis', *ti* 'vagina', *hama* 'buttock' and *hane* 'stomach' are classified as simple body part nouns. The term 'simple' refers to two factors: 1) the mono-morphemic stem of the possessed noun and 2) its regular structure in possessive constructions, in which the possessor suffixes attach to the possessed noun in the singular form, and the regular distributive exponents in which the possessor prefixes to the possessed noun, and all



possible number features suffix to the possessed noun (see §5.3.1 and §5.3.2). This is illustrated in (15) and (16).

- |      |    |  |    |  |
|------|----|--|----|--|
| (15) | a. | <i>Vara</i><br>vara<br>hand[1SG.PSR]<br>'My hands.'  | b. | <i>Varang</i><br>vara-N<br>hand-3SG.PSR<br>'His/Her hands.'                          |
| (16) | a. | <i>Husanem</i><br>hu-hane-m<br>3DU.PSR-stomach-NSG.PSR[NSG.PSS]<br>'Their (two) stomachs.' | c. | <i>Hesanem</i><br>he-hane-m<br>3PL.PSR-stomach-NSG.PSR[NSG.PSS]<br>'Their stomachs.' |

### 5.3.1.3. Compound nouns

Compound nouns refer to body part nouns, which are called associative body parts, human body products and cognitive nouns that are morphologically complex. They are complex as they have the following two properties:

- a. Morphologically, they have two different word/morpheme stems that compound to create a new word with a new meaning. It is a derivational process in which the different stems can derive from different word classes, mainly verbs, or noun stems with no meaning at all. This construction is schematised in (17).

(17) [WORD/MORPHEME-SUF<sub>PSR</sub>-WORD/MORPHEME]

The first word/morpheme in which the possessor suffixes to always has a meaning and it can be analysed as the modifier word/stem to modify the second word/morpheme which is always the head, although it does not always have a meaning.

- b. They take different possessor-possessee marking in the singular and non-singular forms. In the singular form, the possessor always suffixes to the first word/morpheme stem, rather than prefixing to the second stem. This is a regular pattern of affixation in Woori nouns, in which most of the affixation is suffixes.

Other affixation such as prefixes always occurs within a noun stem. This is schematised in (17). In the non-singular form, the possessor prefixes attach to the compounding word. This can be schematised as in (18).

(18)  $\text{PREF}_{\text{PSR}}$ -COMPOUNDING WORD

### 5.3.1.3.1. Associative body parts

Nouns falling into this type can take two base words/stems from different word classes. The first word/stem varies in term of word class. It can be a noun, a verb or an adverb. The second word/stem is always a noun or a meaningless stem. The compounding process can be schematized as in (19) – (24).

$\text{VERB}_{\text{MOD}}$  –  $\text{NOUN}/\text{MEANINGLESS STEM}_{\text{HEAD}}$

(19) *Rekami* ‘eye’ ← *reho*<sup>1</sup>‘see’ + *kami* ‘stone’

(20) *Hokama* ‘nose’ ← *hoho* ‘smell’ + *kama* ‘sprout’

(21) *Tarakambre* ‘ear’ ← *taraho* ‘hear’ + *kambre* ‘??’

$\text{ADVERB}_{\text{MOD}}$  –  $\text{NOUN}/\text{MEANINGLESS STEM}_{\text{HEAD}}$

(22) *Riukami* ‘head’ ← *riung* ‘above’ + *kami* ‘stone’

(23) *Riuandaung* ‘hair’ ← *riung* ‘above’ + *andaung* ‘leaves’

$\text{NOUN}_{\text{MOD}}$  –  $\text{NOUN}/\text{MEANINGLESS STEM}_{\text{HEAD}}$

(24) *Varacara* ‘shoulder’ ← *vara* ‘hand’ + *cara* ‘??’

Tables 5.3 and 5.4 show the paradigm of compounding words of associative body parts that exemplify how person and number marking attach to the possessed noun.

---

<sup>1</sup>The first word/stem analysed as verb such as *reho* ‘see’, *hoho* ‘smell’ and *taraho* ‘hear’ are derived verbs which go through verbalization process. The function of the suffix *-ho* is explained in §6.4.

Table 5.3. The paradigm of singular forms of the possessor marking in compounding words in Woi.

SINGULAR	<i>rekami</i> ‘eye’	<i>varacara</i> ‘shoulder’	<i>horepang</i> ‘lip’
1	<i>Rekami</i>	<i>varacara</i>	<i>horepang</i>
2	<i>re-ng-kami</i>	<i>vara-n-cara</i>	<i>hore-m-pang</i>
3	<i>Rekami</i>	<i>varacara</i>	<i>horepang</i>

Table 5.4. The paradigm of non-singular forms of possessor marking in compounding words in Woi.

NON-SINGULAR	<i>rekami</i> ‘eye’	<i>varacara</i> ‘shoulder’	<i>horepang</i> ‘lip’
1DU.EXC	<i>u-ndekami</i>	<i>u-mbaracara</i>	<i>u-sorepang</i>
1DU.INC	<i>tu-ndekami</i>	<i>tu-mbaracara</i>	<i>tu-sorepang</i>
2DU	<i>mu-ndekami</i>	<i>mu-mbaracara</i>	<i>mu-sorepang</i>
3DU	<i>hu-ndekami</i>	<i>hu-mbaracara</i>	<i>hu-sorepang</i>
1PL.EXC	<i>ma-ndekami</i>	<i>ma-mbaracara</i>	<i>ma-sorepang</i>
1PL.INC	<i>ta-ndekami</i>	<i>ta-mbaracara</i>	<i>ta-sorepang</i>
2PL	<i>me-ndekami</i>	<i>me-mbaracara</i>	<i>me-sorepang</i>
3PL	<i>he-ndekami</i>	<i>he-mbaracara</i>	<i>he-sorepang</i>

In Table 5.3, only the second person is overtly marked for the possessor suffix. The first and third person are zero marked. For the third person, the possessor really depends on its free NP antecedent to distinguish itself from the first person counterpart. In Table 5.4, the prefix attaching to the compounding noun is regular but it triggers morpho-phonological processes of fortition and homorganic nasal-stop clusters. This is further discussed in §2.5.6 and §2.5.8.

### 5.3.1.3.2. Human body products

A human body product such as the word *riuaiyunung* ‘shadow’ is also a compound noun. Both the singular and non-singular forms follow the schematic form as in (17) and (18). They are exemplified in (25) and (26).

- (25) a. *Riuaiyunung*  
 riuai-nyunung  
 upper.head[1/3SG.PSR]-??  
 ‘My/His/Her shadow’
- b. *Riuainyunung*  
 riuai-ng-nyunung  
 upper.head-2SG.PSR-??  
 ‘Your shadow’

- (26) a. *Undiuainyunung*  
u-riuai-nyunung  
1DU.EXC-upper.head-??  
‘Our (two) shadows.’
- b. *Hendiuainyunung*  
he-riuai-nyunung  
3PL-upper.head-??  
‘Their shadows.’

Most other human body products take the indirect possessive construction. This is further discussed in §5.3.2.2

### 5.3.1.3.3. Cognitive nouns

These types of nouns also are also compound nouns. In Woori, this type of word may function as both nouns and verbs as they refer to human mental states such as *hanetatota* ‘thought’, *hanecara* ‘trust/hope’, *hanevay* ‘feeling’, *hanekarahiava* ‘worried’, *hanesung* ‘not like’ and *haneharare* ‘nauseous’. They are exemplified in (27).

- (27) a. *Hanevay*  
hane-vai  
stomach-[1/3SG.PSR]-rope  
‘My/his/her feeling.’
- b. *Hanengharare*  
hane-ng-harare  
stomach-2SG.PSR-wave  
‘Your nausea.’
- c. *Hasanetatota*  
he-hane-tatota  
3PL.PSR-stomach-??  
‘Their thoughts.’
- d. *Tasanecara*  
ta-hane-cara  
1PL.INC.PSR-stomach-??  
‘Our hopes.’

### 5.3.2. Indirect possessive constructions

In indirect possessive constructions, the possessor attaches to the possessive marker, not directly to the possessed noun. This forms a possessive phrase, which is different from the morphological form of the direct possessive construction. This structure is schematised in (28) and (29).

(28) (NOUN<sub>PSR</sub>) POSS-SUF<sub>SG.PSR</sub> NOUN<sub>PSS</sub>

(29) (NOUN<sub>PSR</sub>) PREF<sub>NSG.PSR</sub>-POSS NOUN<sub>PSS</sub>

The singular and non-singular distinction is different in possessive constructions. The optional antecedent possessor noun (NOUN<sub>PSR</sub>) can appear phrasal-initially and is followed by the possessive particle that is made up of the possessive marker and the

possessor affix, i.e.  $SUF_{SG.PSR}$  and  $PREF_{NSG.PSR}$  and is followed by the free possessed noun ( $NOUN_{PSS}$ ). The optional antecedent possessor noun ( $NOUN_{PSR}$ ) agrees with the obligatory possessor affix attaching to the possessive marker in terms of person and number features.

The indirect possessive construction can be found in nouns such as some body parts (§5.3.2.1), body products, (§5.3.2.2), cognitive nouns (§5.3.2.3), proper nouns (§5.3.2.4), and common nouns (§5.3.2.5).

### 5.3.2.1. Body part nouns

There are two body part nouns which take the indirect possessive construction in Woi. They are *huhu* ‘breast’ and *rerawa* ‘skin’. They may also refer generally to any breast, or any skin of animate or inanimate objects. This is exemplified in (30) and (31).

(30) a. *Ne huhu*  
 POSS[1SG.PSR] breast  
 ‘My breast.’

b. *Hune huhu*  
 hu-ne huhu  
 3DU.PSR-POSS breast  
 ‘Their breasts.’

(31) a. *Ne-mu rerawa*  
 ne-mu rerawa  
 POSS-2SG.PSR skin  
 ‘Your skin.’

b. *Tane rerawa*  
 ta-ne rerawa  
 1PL.INC.PSR-POSS skins’  
 ‘Our skins.’

It is ungrammatical for *huhu* ‘breast’ and *rerawa* ‘skin’ to take the direct possessive construction as in (32).

(32) a. *\*huhumu*  
 huhu-mu  
 breast-2SG.PSR  
 ‘Your breast.’

- b.     *\*henderawa*  
           he-rerawa  
           3PL.PSR-skin  
           ‘Their skins.’

The possessor in the indirect possessive construction is bimorphemic, meaning that the possessor can appear in the construction with: 1) the pronominal without an NP possessor and 2) the pronominal with an NP possessor that show agreement in terms of person and number features as shown in (33) and (34).

- (33) a.     *Hene*                             *huhu*  
           he-ne                             huhu  
           3PL.PSR-POSS                 breast  
           ‘Their breasts.’
- b.     *Wona*             *hene*             *huhu*  
           wona             he-ne             huhu  
           dog             3PL.PSR-POSS     breast  
           ‘The dogs’ breasts.’
- (34) a.     *Nye*                             *rerawa*  
           ne-i                             rerawa  
           POSS-3SG.PSR                 skin  
           ‘His/her skin.’
- b.     *Muang*             *nye*             *rerawa*  
           muang             ne-i             rerawa  
           man             POSS-3SG.PSR     skin  
           ‘Man’s skin’

### 5.3.2.2. Human body product nouns

Most human body products which are liquid and solid take the indirect possessive constructions such as *ria* ‘blood’, *hamaya* ‘sweat’, *kayuhu* ‘saliva’, *ayata* ‘feces’ and *kareri* ‘urine’ regardless whether they are still integral parts of a human’s body or not as presented in (35) and (36).

- (35) *Veve yampa vo hiuntaray wampai*  
 veve yang-pa vo hinyontarai wang-pa-i  
 REL there.1-DIST[NSG] FOC.NOM person there.2-DIST-SG
- nye ayata peyna*  
 ne-i ayata peina  
 POSS-3SG.PSR feces DEI
- ‘Those that are there are the person’s feces.’

- (36) *Jon nye hamaya vaw onane*  
 Jon ne-i hamaya vau onane  
 John POSS-SG.PSR sweat NEU[NSG] cause
- hasung vati hepapu*  
 hasung va-i ti-hapapu  
 cloth NEU-SG 3SG-wet
- ‘John’s sweat made his cloth wet.’

It is ungrammatical for these body products to take the direct possessive construction, as illustrated in (37).

- (37) a. *\*veve yampa vo hiuntaray wampai*  
 veve yang-pa vo hinyontarai wang-pa-i  
 REL there.1-DIST[NSG] FOC.NOM person there.2-DIST-SG
- ayatang peyna*  
 ayata-ng peina  
 feces-3SG.PSR DEI
- ‘Those that are there are the person’s feces.’
- b. *\*John hamayang vaw onane hasung vati hepapu*  
 Jon hemaya-ng vau onane hasung va-i ti-hapapu  
 John sweat-3SG.PSR NEU[NSG] cause cloth NEU-SG 3SG-wet
- ‘John’s sweat caused his cloth wet.’

The word *ria* ‘blood’ also takes the indirect type and it is a good example where there is no difference between blood that is still inside human body and blood which is already come out, or even the blood of animals, as in (38).

- (38) a. *Coyo nye ria na neteray vati*  
 ti-oyo ne-i ria na neterai va-i  
 3SG-said POSS-3SG.PSR blood LOC body NEU-SG
- vo veja hiori meraru*  
 vo ve-jadi ti-hori ti-mararu  
 FOC.NOM VBLZ-become 3SG-flow 3SG-quick
- ‘He said that his blood inside his body is running fast.’

b.	<i>Veve</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>ariung</i>	<i>vanei</i>	<i>vo</i>
	veve	na	na	ariung	va-ne-i	vo
	REL	stay	LOC	leaf	NEU-PRX-SG	FOC.NOM
	<i>hiuntaray</i>	<i>wampai</i>	<i>nye</i>	<i>ria</i>	<i>peina</i>	
	hinyontarai	wang-pa-i	ne-i	ria	pe=ti-i-na	
	person	there.2-DIST-SG	POSS-3SG.PSR	blood	EXIST=COP-3SG-3	
	'That which is on the leaf is the person's blood.'					

### 5.3.2.3. Cognitive nouns

While most of the cognitive nouns take the direct possessive construction as described in §5.3.1.3.3, the word *mi* 'dream' could be the only word that takes the indirect possessive construction, as in (39).

(39)	<i>Nye</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>pai</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>inte</i>	<i>terari</i>	<i>peina</i>
	ne-i	mi	pa-i	ti	interi	ti-arari	pe=ti-i-na
	POSS-3SG.PSR	dream	DIST-SG	FOC.SG	then	3SG-tell.story	EXIST=COP-3SG-3
	'It is his dream that he is telling a story about now'						

It cannot take the direct possessive construction as in (40).

(40)	<i>*Mimu</i>	<i>pai</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>inte</i>	<i>terari</i>	<i>peina</i>
	mi-mu	pa-i	ti	interi	t-arari	pe=ti-i-na
	dream-2SG.PSR	DIST-SG	FOC.SG	then	3SG.tell.story	EXIST=COP-3SG-3
	'It is his dream that he is telling the story now.'					

### 5.3.2.4. Proper names

Proper names of non-humans in Woori always take the indirect possessive construction, as in (41) and (42).

(41)	<i>Nemu</i>	<i>Wooi Rawing</i>
	ne-mu	Wooi Rawing
	POSS-2SG.PSR	Wooi Bay
	'Your Woori (village).'	

(42)	<i>Tane</i>	<i>Mangkaroway</i>
	ta-ne	Mangkarowai
	1PL.INC.PSR-POSS	Mangkaroway
	'Our Mt. Mangkaroway.'	



Proper names such as *John* and *Mary* can be possessed with the indirect possessive construction as in (43) b, which is a response to the question in (43a).

- (43) a. *Jon veve nani ti kio nando vanei ma ne*  
 Jon veve nani ti ti-ko nando va-ne-i na e  
 John REL where FOC.SG 3SG-bring banana NEU-PRX-SG hither Q  
 ‘Which John was it who brought this banana here?’
- b. *Tane Jon ti kiori pa*  
 ta-ne Jon ti ti-ko=i pa  
 1PL.INC.PSR-POSS John FOC.SG 3SG-bring-3SG FOC  
 ‘It is our John who brought it.’

### 5.3.2.5. Common nouns other than body parts and kinship terms

All common nouns other than body parts and kinship terms take the indirect possessive construction. Common nouns include all general nouns, such as village, stone, tree, water, man, woman, and child.

- (44) *Ne wa*  
 POSS[1SG.PSR] canoe  
 ‘My canoe.’
- (45) *Hene pandu*  
 he-ne pandu  
 3PL.PSR-POSS village  
 ‘Their village.’
- (46) *Yosep hene nando*  
 Yosep he-ne nando  
 Joseph 3PL.PSR-POSS banana  
 ‘Joseph and associates’ bananas.’
- (47) *Nemu muang*  
 ne-mu muang  
 POSS-2SG.PSR man  
 ‘Your husband.’
- (48) *Hiuntaray nye ariang*  
 hinyontarai ne-i ariang  
 man POSS-3SG.PSR child  
 ‘The man’s child.’

### 5.3.2.6. Part-whole in non-human nouns

When referring to part-whole relationships in non-human nouns, two possible structures are used, i.e. with and without the possessive construction. Part-whole nouns without the possessive marker are described in §5.3.4. The head noun and the possessed noun can be conjoined by the possessive particle of the indirect construction as in (49) and (50).

(49) *Kursi*            *nye*            *aeng*  
 kursi            ne-i            ae-ng  
 chair            POSS-3SG.PSR leg-3SG  
 ‘Chair’s leg.’

(50) *Asurang*        *nye*            *riukami*  
 pig            ne-i            riukami  
 pig            POSS-3SG.PSR head  
 ‘Pig’s head.’

The sentences in (49) and (50) express the particular parts of an entity. In (49), for instance, *ae* ‘leg’ indicates a particular part of the entity *kursi* ‘chair’. Thus, the possessive particle *nye* expresses the meaning of part of a whole. Likewise, in (50), *riukami* ‘head’ is seen as a particular part of the entity *asurang* ‘pig’.

### 5.3.2.7. Nominal activity

Some activities that can be done by using human parts of body can be possessed. To do so, they take the indirect possessive construction as illustrated in (51-53).

(51) *Ne*            *rora*    *ne*            *vo*            *mamba*  
 ne            rora    ne            vo            mamba  
 POSS[1SG]    hit    PRX[NSG]    FOC.NOM    strong  
 ‘My punch is heavy.’

(52) *Hengkapa*    *pa*            *vo*            *mamba*  
 he-t-kapa    pa            vo            mamba  
 3PL-PL-kick DIST[NSG]    FOC.NOM    strong  
 ‘Their kicks are strong.’

- (53) *Tandehoa*                    *pa*                    *vo*                    *wihieng*                    *ray*  
 Ta-t-rehoa                    pa                    vo                    wihieng                    ray  
 1PL.INC-PL-eye-HO=a    DIST[NSG]                    FOC.NOM                    good                    still  
 ‘Our sights are still good.’

### 5.3.3. Mixed type

Interestingly, some body parts can take two types or a combination of the two types: direct and indirect. For instance, the word *ae* ‘leg’ can take two types of possessive constructions, i.e. direct construction and a combination of direct and indirect constructions. Examples (54) and (55) illustrate such constructions.

- (54) *Aemu*                    *vaw*                    *woroy*  
 ae-mu                    vau                    woroi  
 Leg-2SG.PSR    NEU[NSG]                    long  
 ‘Your legs are long.’
- (55) *Nemu*                    *aemu*                    *vaw*                    *woroy*  
 ne-mu                    ae-mu                    vau                    woroi  
 POSS-2SG.PSR    leg-2SG.PSR                    NEU[NSG]                    long  
 ‘Your legs are long.’

Semantically, these two constructions are different in meaning. Both sentences in (54) and (55) express the meaning of *ae* ‘legs’ as body parts. However, the co-occurrence of both constructions in (55) indicate that *ae* ‘legs’ is more as a noun, like other common nouns such as a rock, a house, or a tree. To eliminate the direct possessive construction and only have the indirect type in the construction is ungrammatical in Wooi.

- (56) \**Nemu*                    *ae*                    *vaw*                    *woroy*  
 Ne-mu                    ae                    vau                    woroi  
 POSS-2SG.PSR    leg                    NEU[NSG]                    long  
 ‘Your long legs.’

The word *hokerang* ‘snot/mucus’ as a kind of human body product is also attested with both possessive constructions - direct and indirect. Semantically, there is no difference in meaning in (57a or b).

- (57) a. *Nemu*            *hokerang*  
           ne-mu            ho-kerang  
           POSS-2SG.PSR nose-??  
           ‘Your snot.’
- b. *Hongkerang*  
           ho-ng-kerang  
           nose-2SG.PSR-??  
           ‘Your snot.’

#### 5.3.4. Noun-noun juxtaposition

Noun-noun juxtaposition is also another type of possessive construction. This type semantically expresses the generic properties of an entity. In the real world, a chair, for instance, is an entity that has legs. Thus, we can identify it. To do so in Wooi, it is expressed by noun-noun juxtaposition as in (58) and (59) in contrast to the part-whole relationship in (49) and (50).

- (58) *Kursi*            *ae*  
       chair            leg  
       ‘Leg of chair.’
- (59) *Asurang*        *riukami*  
       Pig            head  
       ‘Pig’s head.’

#### 5.4. Number marking: its structural and semantic properties

Affixes showing possessor-possessee relations vary in their morphosyntactic structures and the distribution of exponence is highly marked, i.e. person and number markings. The distributed exponence consists of two major grammatical features: 1) number distinction: singular vs. non-singular, and 2) types of nouns: kinship terms vs. body parts vs. common nouns. This section begins with a description of the structures of possessive constructions in the singular forms in §5.4.1 and in the non-singular forms in §5.4.2.

### 5.4.1. Singular forms

In singular forms, there are three different possessor-possessee constructions in terms of the order of the morphemes. They are determined by the lexical category of the noun expressing the possessed. The different types and their morphological structures are shown in Table 5.5.

Table 5.5. Structure of morphemes in the singular forms of the possessive constructions.

<b>SINGULAR</b>	
<b>Direct Type</b>	
Types of nouns	Morphological structure
Kinship terms	NOUN <sub>PSS</sub> – SUF <sub>PSR</sub> – SUF <sub>NUM.PSS</sub>
Simple body part nouns	NOUN <sub>PSS</sub> – SUF <sub>PSR</sub>
Compound nouns	STEM-SUF <sub>PSR</sub> -STEM
<b>Indirect type</b>	
Common nouns	(NOUN <sub>PSR</sub> ) POSS-SUF <sub>PSR</sub> NOUN <sub>PSS</sub>

As seen in Table 5.5, lexical types determine the structure of stem and affixation of the direct possessive constructions in the singular forms.

Kinship terms show the common direct possessive constructions of the singular form when all possible affixations are overtly marked. Affixations, i.e. SUF<sub>PSR</sub> and SUF<sub>NUM.PSS</sub> attach to the possessed noun. This are exemplified in (60).

- (60) a. *Tamai*  
 tama-i  
 father[1SG.PSR]-SG.PSS  
 ‘My father.’
- b. *Tamamui*  
 tama-mu-i  
 father-2SG.PSR-SG.PSS  
 ‘Your father.’
- c. *Tamani*  
 tama-n-i  
 father-3SG.PSR-SG.PSS  
 ‘His/her father.’

The affixation consists of person and number markings. In the paradigm, person marking of the first person takes zero marking, whereas the second and third person are

overtly marked. Moreover, the SUF for singular number feature of a possessed noun is overtly marked in all singular persons. This is further discussed in §5.3.1.1.

Simple body part nouns only take SUF<sub>PSR</sub>. This is exemplified in (61).

- |      |                |                  |                  |
|------|----------------|------------------|------------------|
| (61) | a. <i>Vara</i> | b. <i>Varamu</i> | c. <i>Varang</i> |
|      | vara           | vara-mu          | vara-ng          |
|      | hand[1SG.PSR]  | hand-2SG.PSR     | hand-3SG.PSR     |
|      | ‘My hands.’    | ‘Your hands.’    | ‘His/her hands.’ |

Unlike kinship terms, number marking of the possessed noun is not morphologically marked in the construction.

Complex body part nouns show a different morphological structure. As this is a type of compound nouns, the different affixes are used as in (62).

- |      |                      |                        |                      |
|------|----------------------|------------------------|----------------------|
| (62) | a. <i>Horetapare</i> | b. <i>Horengtapare</i> | c. <i>Horetapare</i> |
|      | horetapare           | hore-ng-tapare         | horetapare           |
|      | mouth[1SG.PSR]-??    | mouth-2SG.PSR-??       | mouth[3SG.PSR]-??    |
|      | ‘My tongue.’         | ‘your tongue’          | ‘his/her tongue’     |

In compound nouns as in (62), the head noun of the compound takes the SUF<sub>PSR</sub> and is followed by the modified noun. This morphology of affixes is basically consistent with the morphological affix order indicating person and number features in the singular forms, which is expressed by suffixation.

In the indirect possessive construction, first person also takes zero marking. Second person and third person are overtly marked. However, for the third person, a phonological process needs to be explained. The paradigm of the indirect singular form can be illustrated in (63).

- |      |    |                 |              |
|------|----|-----------------|--------------|
| (63) | a. | <i>Ne</i>       | <i>humbe</i> |
|      |    | ne              | humbe        |
|      |    | POSS[1SG.PSR]   | machete      |
|      |    | ‘My machete.’   |              |
|      | b. | <i>Nemu</i>     | <i>humbe</i> |
|      |    | ne-mu           | humbe        |
|      |    | POSS-2SG.PSR    | machete      |
|      |    | ‘Your machete.’ |              |

- c. Nye                    *humbe*  
      ne-i                 humbe  
      POSS-3SG.PSR machete  
      ‘His/her machete.’

The person suffix of the third person singular undergoes vowel insertion in which the suffix *-i* is inserted into the possessive marker stem *ne* and palatalization occurs. The phonological process is shown in the rule in (64).

(64) ne-i → /n-i-e/ → /nye/ = [nye]

The palatalization process in (61) is discussed in §2.5.3.

### 5.4.2. Non-Singular forms

The morphological structure of the non-singular forms is more or less regular but they do show distributive exponence. The non-singular possessor prefixes attach to the possessed noun in the direct type and to the possessive marker in the indirect type and the number marking suffixes of PSR and PSS are attached to the possessed noun in the direct type but do not occur in the indirect type as illustrated in Table 5.6.

Table 5.6. Structure of morphemes in the non-singular forms of the possessive constructions.

<b>NON-SINGULAR</b>	
<b>Types of nouns</b>	<b>Morphological structure</b>
<i>Direct type</i>	
Kinship terms	PREF <sub>PSR</sub> -NOUN <sub>PSS</sub> -SUF <sub>NUM.PSR</sub> -SUF <sub>NUM.PSS</sub>
Simple body part nouns	PREF <sub>PSR</sub> -NOUN <sub>PSS</sub> -SUF <sub>NUM.PSR</sub> -SUF <sub>NUM.PSS</sub>
Compound nouns	PREF <sub>PSR</sub> -NOUN+NOUN <sub>PSS</sub>
<i>Indirect type</i>	
Common nouns	(NP <sub>PSR</sub> ) PREF <sub>PSR</sub> -POSS NOUN <sub>PSS</sub>

Unlike the singular form, possessor number marking and possessed noun number marking are distinct in the non-singular structure. The number marking agreeing with the possessor is adjacent to the possessed noun and the number marking of the possessed noun

follows it. However, this structure is not possible in the compound nouns and in the indirect type.

Number marking of the possessed noun indicating singular and non-singular distinction, that is the singular *-i* vs. unmarked non-singular, is the default way of marking number in Woi, and is also found with nouns outside of possessive construction, determiners, question words and demonstratives.

In kinship terms, the possessor-possessed noun relation exhibits distributed exponence. Person and number are expressed as prefix and suffixes. They show agreement between the antecedent stem or a free NP and the affixes. This can be illustrated in (65).

- (65) a. *Hesumomi*  
 he-humo-m-i  
 1PL.PSR-aunt-NSG.PSR-SG.PSS  
 ‘Our (two) aunt.’
- b. *Hesumom*  
 he-humo-m  
 3PL.PSR-aunt-NSG.PSR[NSG.PSS]  
 ‘Their aunts.’

The default number marking of singular-non-singular distinguishes the number of the possessed noun as in (65), in which (a) indicates the singular number of the possessed noun and (b) indicates the non-singular number of the possessed noun.

In simple body part nouns, the structure of morphemes is identical to that of kinship terms. However, for paired-nouns or collective nouns such as *vara* ‘hands’, *tere* ‘teeth’, they are marked as default non-singular number, as in (66).

- (66) a. *Umbaram*  
 u-vara-m  
 1DU.EXC.PSR-hand-NSG.PSR[NSG.PSS]  
 ‘Our hands.’
- b. *Henterem*  
 he-tere-m  
 3PL.PSR-tooth-NSG.PSR[NSG.PSS]  
 ‘Their teeth.’



In complex body parts, the structure of morphemes is simple: the possessor is prefixed to the possessed noun. There is no suffixed-number marking as in that of simple body part nouns. This can be illustrated in (67) and (68).

(67) *Hendekami*  
 he-reho-kami  
 3PL.PSR-see-stone  
 ‘Their eyes.’

(68) *Hunjukami*  
 hu-riu-kami  
 3DU.PSR-above-stone  
 ‘Their head’

Regardless of the number of the possessed noun, the number marking is absent. The evidence for this is when hypothetical examples are provided, they show that number marking is still absent in this type of nouns.

(69) *Ariang ve haha haruna hunjukami korisi*  
 Ariang ve haha haru=na hu-riu-kami korisi  
 Child REL twin 3DU=COP 3DU.PSR-above-stone one  
 ‘Children who are twins have one head.’

It cannot be hypothetically constructed with the number marking as in (70).

(70) \**Ariang ve haha haruna hunjukamimi*  
 Ariang ve haha hura=na hu-riu-kami-m-i  
 Children REL twin 3DU-COP 3DU.PSR-above-stone-NUM.PSR-NUM.PSS  
 ‘Children who are twins have one head.’

Compound nouns include body products and cognitive nouns. They exhibit a similar possessive construction to compound body part nouns. This is further discussed in §5.3.1.3.

The indirect possessive construction is a phrasal construction in which the possessor prefixes attach to the possessive marker *ne* that is separated from the possessed noun as in (71).

(71) a. *Une asurang*  
 u-ne asurang  
 1DU.EXC.PSR-POSS pig  
 ‘Their pig.’

- b. *Hene*            *wona*  
 he-ne            wona  
 3PL.PSR-POSS dog  
 ‘Our dog.’

### 5.4.3. Other related issues of number marking in possessor-possessee relation

In §5.4.1 and §5.4.2, the basic singular and non-singular number marking are discussed. Looking at example (65) a, for instance, number marking shows the relation between non-singular possessor and singular possessed noun relation. In (65) b, the number marking shows the non-singular possessor and the non-singular possessed noun relation. In (66), the number marking shows a relation between the non-singular possessor and the non-singular possessed noun in body parts. However, Wooi also shows other constructions depending on number of possessor and possessed noun.

- (a) Singular possessor vs. non-singular possessed noun.

To indicate that a singular possessor has a non-singular possessed noun, there is no morphological marking on the noun. Instead, it is expressed in a clause and the person/number agreement on the copula indicates the number of the possessed noun as in (72).

- (72) *Hinyamui*                            *hurana*  
 hinya-mu-i                            hura-na  
 mother-2SG.PSR-SG.PSS            3DU-COP  
 ‘Those two are your mothers.’

When a possessed noun is non-singular and focus is placed on the precise number of individual possessors, the suffix *-i* ‘SG.PSS’ is deleted and a numeral is rather than a copula with person/number marking, as in (73). Using a copula construction like that in (72) in (73) is not grammatical in Wooi.

(73) *Hinyamu koru*  
 hinya-mu koru  
 mother-2SG.PRS two  
 ‘My mothers are two.’

This contrast can be clearly shown in the following examples in (74) and (75).

(74) *Humo\*(i)*  
 humo[1SG.PSR]  
 ‘My aunt.’

(75) *Humo hempaw*  
 humo he-t-pau  
 aunt[1SG.PSR] 3PL-PL-many  
 ‘I have many aunts.’

(b) Singular possessor vs. a collective number of the possessed noun.

When the possessee refers to a collection of nouns, then the possessee number marking *-i* can be used in a nominal clause as in (76) and (77).

(76) *Humomui hiana*  
 humo-mu-i hia-na  
 aunt-2SG.PSR-SG.PSS 3PL-COP  
 ‘This is a group of your aunts.’

(77) *Humoni hiana*  
 humo-n-i hia-na  
 aunt-3SG.PSR-SG-PSS 3PL-COP  
 ‘This is a group of his/her aunts.’

(c) Singular body parts vs. non-singular (or paired) body parts.

Body parts are divided into two subclasses by default, i.e. singular body parts and non-singular (or pair) body parts. Body part nouns such as *hane* ‘stomach’, *hore* ‘mouth’, *riukami* ‘head’, *hama* ‘buttock’, *hi* ‘penis’, and *ti* ‘vagina’ are singular nouns. Whereas, *tere* ‘teeth’, *tarakambrey* ‘ears’, *rekami* ‘eyes’, *vara* ‘hands’, and *ae* ‘legs’ are non-singular body parts by default.

(78) *Dorkas horeng*  
 Dorkas hore-ng  
 Dorkas mouth-3SG.PSR  
 ‘Dorkas’ mouth’

- (79) *Jon varang*  
 Jon vara-ng  
 John hands-3SG.PSR  
 ‘John’s hands’

To pluralize (78) and (79), number markings of the possessor and the possessed noun suffix to the possessed noun as in (80) and (81).

- (80) *Tasorem*  
 ta-hore-m  
 1PL.INC.PSR-mouth-NSG.PSR[NSG.PSS]  
 ‘Our mouths.’

- (81) *Hembaram*  
 he-vara-m  
 3PL.PSR-hands-NSG.PSR[NSG.PSS]  
 ‘Their hands’

To singularize (79), the numeral is used and it is constructed in a clause as in (82).

- (82) *Jon varang korisi tekay*  
 Jon vara-ng korisi ti-takai  
 John hands-3SG.PSR one 3SG-break  
 ‘One of John’s hands breaks.’

Good evidence is provided by the word *tere* ‘teeth’ which is lexically a plural noun. To singularize the noun, the numeral is used as in (83).

- (83) *Tere korisi tekay*  
 tere korisi ti-takai  
 teeth[1SG.PSR] one 3SG-break  
 ‘One of my teeth broke.’

In body parts that show paired-body part entities such as *vara* ‘hand’, they can take two patterns of number marking. These two patterns are interpreted differently in the different semantic contexts. When the word *vara* ‘hand’ takes the singular number marker-*i*, it is to show that a pair of hands thought of as a single entity as in (84).

- (84) *Hembarami*  
 he-vara-m-i  
 3PL.PSR-vara-NSG.PSR-SG.PSS  
 ‘Their pair of hands.’

When *vara* ‘hand’ is indeed plural (i.e. more than a pair of hands), it cannot take the singular number marking *-i*. This is exemplified in (85) and (86), where *vara* ‘hand’ takes plural agreement.

(85) *Hembaram* *pe* *wona*  
 he-*vara*-m *pe* *wona*  
 3PL.PSR-hand-NSG.PSR[NSG.PSS] EXIST[NSG] six  
 ‘Their hands are six.’

(86) *Hiuntaray* *wonang* *wampa* *hia*  
 hinyontarai *wonang* *wang-pa* *hia*  
 person six there.2-DIST[NSG] 3PL

*hembaram* *pe* *hura* *ha* *koru*  
 he-*vara*-m *pe* *hura* *heha* *koru*  
 3PL.PSR-hand-NSG.PSR[NSG.PSS] EXIST[NSG] ten plus two  
 ‘Those six people have twelve hands.’

The number marking that indicates possessor-possessee relation in the possessive construction in Wooi is a typical feature of languages of West Yapen groups, including Ambai, Pom, Ansus, and Wandamen (see Anceaux 1961, Silzer 1983, van den Berg 2009, and Gasser 2014). Ansus shows the same pattern as Wooi’s non-singular forms of the direct possessive constructions as in (87).

(87) Ansus (Anceaux 1961).

1PL.INC	<i>tam-bara-mi</i>	‘our hands’
	1PL.INC.PSR-hands-NSG	
1PL.EXC	<i>ana-wara-mi</i>	‘our hands’
	1PL.EXC.PSR-hands-NSG	
2PL	<i>mem-bara-mi</i>	‘your hands’
	2PL.PSR-hands-NSG	
3PL	<i>em-bara-mi</i>	‘their hands’
	3PL.PSR-hands-NSG	

The same feature is found in the dual form of Ambai as in (88).

(88) Ambai (Anceaux 1961, Silzer 1983)

1DU.INC	<i>tu-wara-mi</i>	‘Our hands’
	1DU.INC.PSR-hands-NSG	
1DU.EXC	<i>au-wara-mi</i>	‘Our hands’
	1DU.EXC.PSR-hands-NSG	

2DU	<i>mu-wara-mi</i> 2DU.PSR-hands-NSG	‘Your hands’
3DU	<i>u-wara-mi</i> 3DU.PSR-hands-NSG	‘Their hands’

It was seen in (87) and (88) that features of number marking in terms of the form of the morphemes and the structure of the morphemes in the noun paradigms clearly indicate similarities among West Yapen languages. Unfortunately, the analyses given by Anceaux (1961), Silzer (1983) and also Wandamen (Anceaux 1961, Gasser 2014) do not provide full details of different number markings of possessor-possessee and their semantic and pragmatic descriptions in the possessive constructions. Thus, further research on number marking in relation to possessor-possessee relation is needed to be done in the future for these languages.

### **5.5. Zero marking of the first and third singular person**

Morphological realization of zero marking has long been intensively explored in different word class categories in order to see regular phenomena in morphology (see Watkins 1962, Haiman 1977, Bybee and Brewer 1980, Bybee 1985, Koch 1995). This zero marking phenomenon leads to asymmetries of the morphological paradigm which is common across languages. It is common that singular forms tend to be referred as ‘unmarked’ or ‘zero’. Watkins’ explanation in Koch (1995:34) states: “...this reanalysis is possible because of the semantically unmarked nature of the Third Person Singular in relation to other person-number properties. It is well known that the singular is the semantically unmarked number.”

Asymmetries of morphological paradigms in nouns and verbs are also found in Woi. In particular, the singular possessive construction on nouns shows such a feature. First person and third person singular are two categories that show zero person-number

exponence. In the paradigm of possessive constructions, regardless of the semantics of the nouns, the most featured zero marking is the first person singular. This can be shown in the paradigms of different types of nouns in Table 5.7.

Table 5.7. The paradigm of nouns and zero person/number marking in the direct possessive construction in Woi.

SG	<i>tamai</i> ‘father’	<i>tere</i> ‘teeth’	<i>rekami</i> ‘eye’	<i>netarayhey</i> ‘smell’	<i>hanevey</i> ‘feeling’
1	<i>tamai</i>	<i>tere</i>	<i>rekami</i>	<i>netarayhey</i>	<i>hanevey</i>
2	<i>tama-mu-i</i>	<i>tere-mu</i>	<i>re-ng-kami</i>	<i>ne-ng-tarayhey</i>	<i>hane-ng-vey</i>
3	<i>tama-n-i</i>	<i>tere-ng</i>	<i>rekami</i>	<i>netarayhey</i>	<i>hanevey</i>

Table 5.7 indicates zero person-number exponents in the direct possessive construction. In kinship term nouns and simple body part nouns, zero marking occurs only in the first person singular. However, zero marking occurs in both first person and third person singular when the nouns are compound nouns.

Zero marking also occurs in the indirect possessive construction. In this construction, it is the First Person Singular which is zero marked, as indicated in Table 5.8.

Table 5.8. The paradigm of singular form of the indirect possessive construction in Woi

SG	Paradigm	Meaning
1	<i>ne wa</i>	‘my canoe’
2	<i>nemu wa</i>	‘your canoe’
3	<i>nye wa</i>	‘his/her canoe’

Table 5.8 indicates that the possessive marker *ne-* ‘POSS’ receives person-number affixes for the second *-mu* and third person singular *-i* but not for first person.

Zero person-number exponents found in the possessive paradigms of nouns in Table 5.7 and Table 5.8 are highlighted in Table 5.9.

Table 5.9. Zero person marker in possessive constructions in Wooi

Person	TYPES OF NOUNS				
Number	Direct Possession			Indirect possession	
SG	Simple nouns	body part	Compound nouns	Kinship terms	Common nouns
1	$\emptyset$		$\emptyset$	$\emptyset$	$\emptyset$
2	<i>-mu</i>		<i>-ng</i>	<i>-mu</i>	<i>-mu</i>
3	<i>-ng</i>		$\emptyset$	<i>-n</i>	<i>-i</i>

The feature of zero marking found in first person and third person singular in Wooi is a well-known cross-linguistic phenomenon and is referred to by Koch (1995) as ‘locally unmarked number.’ The same phenomenon is also found in Australian Aboriginal languages such as Ngandi, Kaytetye, and Alyawarre. In these languages, the marker of first person singular possessor is zero, especially in kin nouns (Koch 1995: 51-53). Thus, the significant question is why is it that the first person singular in possessive construction is zero? The phenomenon seems to indicate that the first person singular may function as the kin noun itself as Yallop (1977) quoted by Koch (1995:53) states: “There is evidence that the system of person-marking is breaking down... the ‘my’ form is sometimes used as if it were not marked for person.” In Kaytetye, there is an example of the reanalysis of the first person singular form, with the creation of a new paradigm on the basis of the reanalysed stem. The earlier form of the First Person Singular suffix has been incorporated into the stem. Thus, the new form is interpreted as a new stem with zero marking for the first person singular. In languages such as Nunggubuyu, the first person singular form is probably interpreted as the form used for address as well as reference. Thus, ‘father’ could be a term of address. Thus, it cannot mean anyone’s father other than mine.

The first person singular in possessive construction in Wooi is analyzed as zero marking as its new morphological form then carries two referents: 1) it takes unmarked value in order to set up a paradigm for other person-number categories, and 2) it becomes



the basic form of independent nouns in Wooi. For instance, the noun *tamai* ‘father’ refers not only to the first person singular for father but also as the noun meaning father.

The morphological zero marking in Wooi is not just restricted to nouns in terms of possessive constructions. It occurs across word-classes. The same phenomenon occurs in verbs in which the subject marking of the First Person Singular is morphologically zero, especially in the C-initial verb stem paradigm. The form of the C-initial verb stem is also reanalyzed as the basic form of the verb. This is discussed in Chapter 6.

## 5.6. Possessive phrases as predicates

This section presents a discussion of possessive constructions on the clausal level in which possessive noun phrases function as predicates. This section includes simple possessive predicates in §5.6.1, possessive predicates that take arguments in §5.6.2, existential predicates that take a possessive construction in §5.6.3, and focus constructions with instrumentalized body parts: see §5.6.4. The clause types including possessive clauses are further discussed in chapter 7.

### 5.6.1. Possessive constructions in a nominal predicate

A possessive predicate is a type of nominal predicate that has a possessive construction relating the subject and the predicate (see also van Staden 2009). Thus, it is constructed with the obligatory nominal copula as in (89) and (90). The possessive predicate in (89) takes the indirect possessive construction when the predicate consists of a common noun. The nominal predicate can also be a kinship term noun that is directly possessed, as in (90).

- (89) *Wampai*        *ne*                    *manu*   *tina*  
 wang-pa-i        ne                                manu    ti-i-na  
 there.2-DIST-SG POSS[1SG.PSR] house    COP-3SG-3  
 ‘That is my house.’

- (90) *Hiuntaray wampai tamai tina*  
 hinyontarai wang-pa-i tama-i ti-i-na  
 person there.2-DIST-SG father[1SG.PSR]-SG.PSS COP-3SG-3  
 ‘That person is my father.’

The possessive construction in a nominal predicate can occur in a focus construction, as in (91) and (92).

- (91) *Ya vo tamamui ti-aw*  
 Ya vo tama-mu-i ti-au  
 1SG FOC.NOM father-2SG.PSR-SG.PSS COP-2SG  
 ‘It is me who is your father.’

- (92) *Aw vo tamai tiya*  
 Au vo tama-i ti-ya  
 2SG FOC.NOM father[1SG.PSR]-SG.PSS COP-1SG  
 ‘It is you who is my father.’

The nominal predicate with complex copula and its syntactic properties is further discussed in §7.4.1.

### 5.6.2. Possessive predicates taking arguments

The possessive marker *ne* can be predicative, functioning as a transitive verb. That is, it takes a subject and object. This only occurs in focus constructions in which the object is fronted to the clause-initial position. This cannot happen in the basic clause structure or other non-focus constructions. For this, the syntactic slot of the object argument must be filled by the pronominal copy. Thus, this shows that the possessor is subject and the possessee is object. Focus constructions and pronominal copy are further discussed in Chapter 12. Examples (93) and (94) show these object-fronted focus constructions:

- (93) *Manu wampai vo ya nei pa*  
 manu wang-pa-i vo ya ne=i pa  
 house there.2-DIST-SG FOC.NOM 1SG POSS=3SG FOC  
 ‘It is the house that I possess.’

- (94) *Wa nine vo hiati henehia pa*  
 wa ni-ne vo hiati he-ne=hia pa  
 canoe here-PRX[NSG] FOC.NOM 3PL.TOP 3PL-POSS=3PL FOC  
 ‘These are canoes that they possess.’

A possessive predicate cannot occur in the basic clause structure as in (95) and (96). To do so is ungrammatical.

(95) \**Ya ne manu wampai*  
 Ya ne manu wang-pa-i  
 1SG POSS[1SG.PSR] house there.2-DIST-SG  
 ‘I have that house.’

(96) \**Hia hene wa nine*  
 hia he-ne wa ning-ne  
 3PL 3PL.PSR-POSS canoe here-PRX[NSG]  
 ‘They have these canoes.’

As for the focused subject construction, the focused subject takes the independent form of a pronoun that anaphorically agrees with the subject marker on the possessive predicate and the object argument follows the head of the predicate as it does on a verbal predicate as in (97) and (98).

(97) *Ya ine kakopa wampai pa*  
 ya i-ne kakopa wang-pa-i pa  
 1SG 1SG.PSR-POSS land there.2-DIST-SG FOC  
 ‘I am the one who possesses the land.’

(98) *Aw nemu kakopa wampai pa ne*  
 au ne-mu kakopa wang-pa-i pa e  
 2SG POSS-2SG.PSR land there.2-DIST-SG FOC Q  
 ‘Is that you who possess the land?’

Possessive predicates taking argument are further discussed in chapter 7 and chapter 12.

### 5.6.3. Possessive constructions in an existential predicate

The possessive construction can occur in an existential predicate with additional indication ‘to whom’ the entity referred to exists, i.e. who possesses it. The semantic and syntactic properties of existential clauses are given in §7.4.4. In the construction, the sentence can consist of a possessive construction within an existential clause in which the existential marker *pe* ‘EXIST’ is the head of the predicate as in (99a), and (100a), or it can function only as an existential sentence as in (99b) and (100b).

- (99) a. *Ne*            *doi*    *pe*    *ne.*            *Morarising*            *e*  
 ne            doi    pe    ne            bu-mararising            e  
 POSS[1SG.PSR] money EXIST PRX[NSG] 2SG-want            Q  
 ‘I have money. Do you want (some)?’ [lit: My money exists here. Do you want (some)?]
- b. *Doy*            *pe*            *ne.*            *Morarising*            *e*  
 doi            pe            ne            bu-mararising            e  
 money            EXIST            PRX[NSG] 2SG-want            Q  
 ‘I have money. Do you want (some)?’
- (100) a. *Butang*            *hia!*            *Hene*            *havaku*            *peha*    *e*  
 bu-utang            hia            he-ne            havaku            peha    e  
 2SG-ask            3PL            3PL.PSR-POSS cigarette            other    Q  
 ‘Ask them! Do they have some cigarettes?’
- b. *Butang*            *hia!*            *Havaku*            *peha*    *e*  
 bu-utang            hia            havaku            peha    e  
 2SG-ask            3PL            cigarette            other    Q  
 ‘Ask them! Do they have some cigarettes?’

Literally, the existential meaning in (95) is ‘my money exists here’ that is different from the meaning the money is mine which is definite and it is constructed with a focus construction in Wooi in (101).

- (101) *Doy*    *vaw*            *ai*            *ya*    *neu*            *pa*  
 Doi    *vau*            ai            ya    ne-u            pa  
 Money NEU[NSG]    FOC.NSG    1SG    POSS-1SG    FOC  
 ‘It is the money I have.’

Existential predicates are further discussed in §7.4.4.

#### 5.6.4. Alternation of direct and indirect types in one construction

Wooi allows the direct possessive construction to alternate with the indirect possessive construction under certain conditions. The alternation occurs in the condition where body parts take part in instrumental and applicative constructions. In Wooi, body parts can be understood as an instrument or a tool to do something. This means that a body part can be classified in the same way as a non-body part noun such as machete, broom, knife and other nouns that have instrumental meaning as in (102) and (103). Thus, it is

structurally expressed in the instrumental adjunct PP with *ho* ‘INS’. They can both be understood as instruments in doing something.

(102) *Hendobang*    *ay*    *wampai*    ***ho***    ***tamang***    ***nei***  
 he-t-robang    ai    wang-pa-i    ho    tamang    ne-i  
 3PL-PL-cut    tree    there.2-DIST-SG    INS    axe    PRX-SG  
 ‘They cut that tree with this axe.’

(103) *Riora*    *ya*    ***ho***    ***varang***  
 ti-rora    ya    ho    vara-ng  
 3SG.hit    1SG    INS    hand.3SG.PSR  
 ‘He hit me with his hands.’

In (102) and (103), both *tamang* ‘axe’ and *vara* ‘hands’ are instruments that are used to do something, although *vara* ‘hands’ takes a direct possessive construction. They are indicated by the instrumental marker *ho* ‘INS’.

In another semantic context, both direct and indirect possessive constructions can be used together in the adjunct instrument position, which is grammatical in Woi. Both examples in (104) and (105) express *vara* ‘hands’ in the instrumental construction that is used for the action of hitting. However, in (105), both direct and indirect construction are used to specify *vara* ‘hands’ as a nominal instrument.

(104) *Ruora*    *Agus*    ***ho***    ***varamu***  
 bu-rora    Agus    ho    vara-mu  
 2SG-hit    Agus    INS    hand-2SG.PSR  
 ‘You hit Agus with your hand.’

(105) *Ruora*    *Agus*    ***ho***    ***nemu***    ***varamu***  
 bu-rora    ne-mu    ho    ne-mu    vara-mu  
 2SG-hit    Agus    INS    POSS-2SG.PSR    hand-2SG.PSR  
 ‘You hit Agus with your hands.’

Example (105) can be interpreted similarly as the context where an alienable common noun is used as an instrument in the same sentence, as in (106).

(106) *Ruora*    *Agus*    ***ho***    ***nemu***    ***tas***  
 bu-rora    Agus    ho    ne-mu    tas  
 2SG-hit    Agus    ho    POSS-2SG.PSR    bag  
 ‘You hit Agus with your bag.’

Thus, it is ungrammatical in Wooi when *vara* ‘hand’ does not take the direct possessive type, and it really depends on the meaning of the indirect possessive type as in (107).

- (107) \**Ruora*      *Agus ho nemu vara*  
 bu-rora      Agus ho ne-mu vara  
 2SG-hit      Agus INS POSS-2SG.PSR hand  
 ‘You hit Agus with your hand.’

When the instrument occurs in a focus construction, in which the instrument is fronted to the pragmatic slot in the clause-initial position, and the applicative marker *in-* ‘APPL’ attaches to the verb, a body part noun can be interpreted as an instrument as well, and in this case undergoes structural modifications that are pragmatically motivated. When a body part noun, such as *ae* ‘leg’ is interpreted as an instrument, it will take both the direct and indirect construction as in (108).

- (108) [*Hene*      [*hetaem*]]<sub>RC</sub>      *vaw*]<sub>NP</sub>      *ai*  
 He-ne      he-ae-m      vau      ai  
 3PL.PSR-POSS 3PL.PSR-leg-NSG.PSR[NSG.PSS]      NEU[NSG]      FOC.NSG
- heingapari*      *pa*  
 he-in-kapa=i      pa  
 3PL-APPL-kick=3SG      FOC  
 ‘These are their legs that they used to kick him.’

The possessed noun *ae* ‘leg’ can become the head of the NP and it takes the direct possessive construction. It can then be modified by a relative clause that contains a possessive predicate as in (109).

- (109) [*Hetaem*      [*hene*]]<sub>RC</sub>      *vaw*]<sub>NP</sub>      *ai*  
 He-ae-m      he-ne      vau      ai  
 3PL.PSR-leg-NSG.PSR[NSG.PSS] 3PL.PSR-POSS      NEU[NSG]      FOC.NSG
- heingkari*      *pa*  
 he-ing-kapa=i      pa  
 3PL-APPL-kick=3SG      FOC  
 ‘Their legs are the ones that they used to kick him.’

In (109), the RC is not marked by the RC marker *ve(ve)* ‘REL. However, *hene* ‘they possess’ is a possessive predicate within the NP. Thus, the embedded clause *hene* ‘they

possess’ is used to modify the head noun *hetaem* ‘their legs’ together with the determiner *vaw* ‘NEU[NSG]’.

Different person number as possessor is also attested in Wooi. The embedded clause *nemu* ‘you possess’ is the relative clause without the RC marker *ve(ve)* ‘REL’. It functions to modify the head noun *varamu* ‘your hands’ together with the deictic adverb *pa* ‘DIST[NSG]’ as in (110).

(110) [*Varamu*      [*nemu*]<sub>RC</sub>      *pa*]<sub>NP</sub>      *ai*      *buindora*  
          vara-mu      ne-mu      pa      ai      bu-in-rora  
          hand-2SG.PSR      POSS-2SG.PSR      DIST[NSG]      FOC.NSG      2SG-APPL-hit

*Agus*      *pa*  
 Agus      pa  
 Agus      FOC

‘Those are your hands that you used to hit Agus.’

The structure of the noun phrase is further discussed in §4. 2 and the relative clause without the relative marker is further discussed in §4.4.2.7 and §11.3.3.2.

# Chapter 6 – Verbal morphology

## 6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents characteristics of verbal morphology in Woori. Verbs in Woori have a primarily predicative function, expressing actions, processes and states, and show obligatory subject agreement. Woori is an agglutinative language: the verbal template showing the order of morphemes is straightforward, discussed in §6.2. In §6.3, subject marking is discussed. Subject marking is a salient feature on verbs in Woori with various morpho-phonological properties (§6.3.1). The verb agrees with person and number features with allomorphic variation. Thus, the singular subject marking (§6.3.2), non-singular subject marking (§6.3.3) and the generic subject marking (§6.3.4) are discussed respectively in this section. The applicative marker is another optional morpheme, described in §6.4. Verbs that take possessive morphology are discussed in §6.5. These verbs have the possessor marker functioning as subject marker. In §6.6, the discussion focuses on the verbalization of nouns, numerals and loan words by the verbalized prefix *ve-*. In section 6.7, object clitics are briefly described in order to show the differences between clitics and affixes. In section 6.8, the definition and criteria for affixation and cliticization are discussed in order to examine the nature of the subject markers and object clitics that contribute to the shape of verbal morphology in Woori.



## 6.2 Verbal templates

Verbs in Woori can be identified and classified into three types on the basis of their morphological make-up. They are simply labelled as Types 1, 2 and 3. Each has its own morphological template and related characteristics.

TYPE 1 verbs are verbs with the template shown in Figure 6.1. Type 1 verbs are the most common verbs in Woori, where important functional morphemes (subject prefixes, applicative marker, and object clitics) can be combined. As we shall see later, they fall into two patterns, i.e. vowel-initial and consonant-initial patterns.

**SUBJECT + (APPLICATIVE) + STEM (OBJECT)**

Figure 6.1. Morphological template of verbs with common affixes

The template shows that the subject prefix is the only obligatory morpheme attaching to a verb stem. The applicative and object markers optionally attach to the stem. The presence of the applicative and object markers is subject to syntactic and pragmatic constraints, further discussed in §6.7, §7.8.3, and §12.5.2.

TYPE 2 verbs are verbs with possessive morphology. Their template, given in Figure 6.2, shows that this type of verb consists of a noun stem, undergoing a derivational process to become a verb. All of the elements in the template are obligatory. The structure and the marking of noun and possessor reflects the structure and marking of possessed noun and possessor in the possessive construction (see chapter 5), with the addition of the verbalized marker *-ho*.

**NOUN+ POSSESSOR + *-ho***

Figure 6.2. Morphological template of verbs with possessive morphology

Type 2 verbs are restricted to a small set of the so-called ‘sensing’ verbs such as such as *to see*, *to hear*, and *to feel*. They are mainly transitive verbs, with the subject

indexed by the possessor marker. The suffix *-ho*, the obligatory part of the verb, appears to be derived from a preposition. Type 2 verbs are further discussed and exemplified in §6.5.

TYPE 3 verbs are verbs with the derivational prefix *ve-*. The template is shown in Figure 6.3. All elements shown in Figure 3 are obligatory. The subject prefix appears in different forms due to morpho-phonological processes when it combines with the prefix *ve-*; this is discussed in §6.6. The stem is mostly a nominal, although a numeral and a loan word are also possible.

<b>SUBJECT[plural/singular] +<i>ve-</i> +STEM</b>
---

Figure 6.3. Morphological template of verbs with the verbalizer *ve-*.

TYPE 3 verbs with the verbalizer *ve-* derive verbs from different word classes, especially nouns and loan words. They are productive in the language as many new words can be formed using this template particularly with the stem from loan words. In the corpus, most loan words are Papuan Malay and Indonesian.

## 6.3 Subject marking

### 6.3.1 Morpho-phonological properties of subject markers

Subject-verb agreement involving person and number features is the salient feature of the verbal morphology in Woi. The feature of verbal morphology is also a typical feature of Austronesian languages of Cenderawasih Bay languages (Sagger 1979, Sawaki 2004, 2009, Karubuy 2011, Gasser 2014 and 2015, Silzer 1983, Karubaba 2008, van den Heuvel 2006, Mofu 2005 and 2008).

The complete set of subject markers is given in Table 6.1. As can be seen, in terms of the number system, the subject prefix shows a three-way number distinction (singular vs.

dual vs. plural). In addition, there is also an inclusive and exclusive distinction for the first person non-singular (i.e. dual and plural) forms.

Table 6.1. The underlying forms of subject markers on verbs

	SINGULAR	DUAL	PLURAL
1.EXC	<i>y-</i>	<i>ur-</i>	<i>mat-</i>
1.INC		<i>tur-</i>	<i>tat-</i>
2	<i>bu-</i>	<i>mur-</i>	<i>met-</i>
3	<i>ti-</i>	<i>hur-</i>	<i>het-</i>

The subject markers in Table 6.1 above are given in their underlying forms. Their actual morphological shapes are subject to morpho-phonological processes described briefly below but further details are given in the ensuing sections in this chapter. We start with the singular forms first, followed by the non-singular forms.

The singular subject prefixes are realized in two morphological forms, phonologically conditioned by the class of the initial segment of the verbal stem, whether it is a vowel or a consonant. The allomorphs of the subject markers in Woori are shown in Table 6.2 and the examples showing the partial paradigm are given in Table 6.3.

Table 6.2. Allomorphs of the singular subject markers in Woori.

	[V-initial]	[C-initial]
Person		
1S	<i>y-</i>	$\emptyset$
2S	<i>bu-</i>	< <i>u</i> >
3S	<i>ti-</i>	< <i>i</i> >

Table 6.3. The paradigm of verbs showing the allomorphs of the singular subject markers.

Person/number	Verb stem forms				
	V-initial		C-initial		
	<i>ena</i>	<i>-avayang</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>kavio</i>
	'sleep'	'buy'	'go'	'call'	'talk'
<i>y-</i> '1SG'	<i>y-ena</i>	<i>y-avayang</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>kavio</i>
<i>bu-</i> '2SG'	<i>bu-ena</i>	<i>b-ovayang</i>	<i>r&lt;u&gt;a</i>	<i>h&lt;u&gt;a</i>	<i>k&lt;o&gt;vio</i>
<i>ti-</i> '3SG'	<i>c-ena</i>	<i>t-evayang</i>	<i>r&lt;i&gt;a</i>	<i>h&lt;i&gt;a</i>	<i>k&lt;e&gt;vio</i>

The following points regarding the analysis are in order. First, the longer forms, *y-*, *bu-*, *ti-* (i.e. appearing with the V-initial stems) are regarded as the basic or underlying forms whereas the shorter forms are the predictable variants resulting from phonological processes such as vowel merger and (identical) segment deletion: see §2.5. This is explained by the rules in (1) and (2) below. Thus, the surface form of *bovayang* and *raa*, for instance, can be described as follows:

- (1) Underlying Form: *bu-* ‘2SG’ + *-avayang* ‘buy’  
 Vowel Merger            *u+a>o*  
 Surface Form:            *bovayang*
- (2) Underlying Form: *bu-* + *ra* ‘go’  
 Metathesis                *r<bu>a*  
 C-deletion                *b>∅* [rb is not a permitted CC cluster]  
 Surface form:            *rua*

In contrast, the analysis taking the shorter forms, e.g. *u-* for ‘2SG’ as basic, is not justified as there is no principle by which a segment like *b-* as part of ‘2SG’ form can be accounted for. More discussion of the allomorphs of singular subject is given in §6.3.2.

Turning to the non-singular subject prefixes (see Table 6.3), we can immediately observe that the dual and plural forms consist of dual and plural markers, *-r* and *-t* respectively. For simplicity, they are not segmented in the table. However, when relevant, e.g. for the discussion of their allomorphic alternations in their surface realizations, these number markers are segmented.

Table 6.4. The paradigm of verbs showing the allomorphs of the non-singular subject markers.

Person/number	Verb stem forms				
	V-initial		C-initial		
	<i>-ena</i>	<i>-avayang</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>kavio</i>
	'sleep'	'buy'	'go'	'call'	'talk'
1DU.INC	<i>tur-ena</i>	<i>tur-avayang</i>	<i>tun-da</i>	<i>tu-sa</i>	<i>tung-kavio</i>
2DU	<i>mur-ena</i>	<i>mur-avayang</i>	<i>mun-da</i>	<i>mu-sa</i>	<i>mung-kavio</i>
3DU	<i>hur-ena</i>	<i>hur-avayang</i>	<i>hun-da</i>	<i>hu-sa</i>	<i>hung-kavio</i>
1PL.EXC	<i>mat-ena</i>	<i>mat-avayang</i>	<i>man-da</i>	<i>ma-sa</i>	<i>mang-kavio</i>
1PL.INC	<i>tat-ena</i>	<i>tat-avayang</i>	<i>tan-da</i>	<i>ta-sa</i>	<i>tang-kavio</i>
2PL	<i>met-ena</i>	<i>met-avayang</i>	<i>men-da</i>	<i>me-sa</i>	<i>meng-kavio</i>
3PL	<i>het-ena</i>	<i>het-avayang</i>	<i>hen-da</i>	<i>he-sa</i>	<i>heng-kavio</i>

### 6.3.2 Singular subject forms

With V-initial verbs the singular subject prefixes for the first and second persons appear in their basic forms. For the third person, there is a palatalization process (see §6.3.2.3).

#### 6.3.2.1 *y-* 'first person singular'

The first person singular subject prefix shows up in its underlying form with the V-initial stem. This is exemplified in Table 6.5. This is straightforward and no further explanation is needed.

Table 6.5. The realization of *y-* form in the V-initial stem.

	<i>-ang</i> 'eat'	<i>-ihang</i> 'structure'	<i>-ena</i> 'sleep'	<i>-onane</i> 'cause'	<i>-otara</i> 'boil'	<i>-utang</i> 'ask'
<b>y-</b> '1SG'	<i>y-ang</i>	<i>y-ihang</i>	<i>y-ena</i>	<i>y-onane</i>	<i>y-otara</i>	<i>y-utang</i>

However when the first person singular subject appears with the C-initial stem, it is realized as a zero allomorph. Examples are given in Table 6.6 below.

Table 6.6. The zero allomorph of *y-* form in the C-initial stem.

	‘cry’	sing	cut	fall	walk	bring	itch	‘look for’
<i>y-</i> ‘1SG’	<i>hay</i>	<i>roy</i>	<i>perang</i>	<i>tawa</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>mata</i>	<i>mumpi</i>

The zero allomorph of *y-* can be analyzed as an outcome of segment deletion due to the phonotactic constraint of not allowing a CC cluster as the result of the affixation. On the analysis that affixation with the C-initial stem involves metathesis (as is the case with other subject prefixes): see §2.5.1, the formation of *tawa* ‘1.SG.fall’ can be depicted as follows:

- (3) U. F:                            *y-* ‘1SG’ + *tawa* ‘fall’  
 Metathesis:                        t<y>awa  
 Segment deletion:                *y* > ∅ [constrained by the CC cluster]  
 S.F:                                    *tawa* ‘1SG.fall’

### 6.3.2.2 *bu-* ‘second person singular’

The second person singular subject prefix has the following allomorphs: *bu-*, *b-* and <*u*>. Like the first person singular subject, it can appear on the surface in its basic form with the V-initial stem. This is exemplified in Table 6.7.

Table 6.7. The realization of *bu-* form in the V-initial stem.

	<i>-ang</i> ‘eat’	<i>-ihang</i> ‘structure’	<i>-ena</i> ‘sleep’	<i>-onane</i> ‘cause’	<i>-otara</i> ‘boil’	<i>-utang</i> ‘ask’
<i>bu-</i> ‘2SG’	<i>bu-ang</i>	<i>bu-ihang</i>	<i>bu-ena</i>	<i>bu-onane</i>	<i>bu-otara</i>	<i>bu-utang</i>

However, when *bu-* is affixed to the verb stem beginning with the vowel /*u*/, one of the /*u*/ vowels is deleted. This is seen with the case of *bu+utang* > *butang*. In other languages, in such a situation, the phonological output could be vowel lengthening, merger, or vowel preservation. However, in Wooi, vowel length alternation is never attested, despite it being a common pattern in some Austronesian languages of other groups (Blust,

2013:256). Rather, we have vowel deletion which can be captured by the following (general) phonological rule:

$$(4) \quad \{\text{Prefix}\}Cu \rightarrow C / \_u - \{\text{STEM}\}$$

Note that this rule is not only specific to *bu-* in the verbal morphology but applies to any consonant followed with the vowel/u/ or any vowels.

When *bu-* is affixed to V-initial stem with bi- or multi-syllabic a-initial stem, the affix is realized by a vowel merger process. This is exemplified in (1) above. The rule is the general rule applied for all singular persons as in Table 6.8.

Table 6.8. The allomorph of *bu-* form as a result of vowel merger in the V-initial stem.

	<i>-awe</i> 'look for'	<i>-ari</i> 'dry'	<i>-apo</i> 'tell story'	<i>-aning</i> 'clean'	<i>'-avayang</i> 'buy'	<i>-apay</i> 'use'
<i>bu-</i> '2SG'	<i>b-owe</i>	<i>b-ori</i>	<i>b-opo</i>	<i>b-oning</i>	<i>b-ovayang</i>	<i>b-opay</i>

When *bu-* is affixed to a C-initial stem, the affix is realized as an infix <u>. This can be exemplified in Table 6.9.

Table 6.9. The allomorph of *bu-* form as a result of metathesis in the C-initial stem.

	<i>hay</i> 'cry'	<i>perang</i> 'cut'	<i>tawa</i> 'fall'	<i>ra</i> 'walk'	<i>ko</i> 'bring'	<i>mata</i> 'itch'	<i>mumpi</i> 'look for'
<i>bu-</i> '2SG'	<i>h&lt;u&gt;ay</i>	<i>p&lt;u&gt;erang</i>	<i>t&lt;u&gt;awa</i>	<i>r&lt;u&gt;a</i>	<i>k&lt;u&gt;o</i>	<i>m&lt;u&gt;ata</i>	<i>m&lt;u&gt;umpi</i>

The infix <u> realization is the result of two morpho-phonological processes: metathesis, segment deletion and vowel retention, in that order. The processes in their order can be shown as follows:

- (5) U. F: *bu-* ‘2SG’ + *tawa* ‘fall’  
 Metathesis: *t<bu>awa*  
 Segment deletion: *b > ∅* [the CC cluster is not permitted]  
 Vowel retention: *t<u>awa*  
 S.F: *tuawa* ‘2SG fall’

Also, the realization of the infix <*u*> does not require a vowel merger or vowel deletion. Instead, vowel retention of both the vowel of the subject marker and the initial vowel of the stem are preserved, as shown in the surface form in (5). Some mono- and bi-syllabic C-initial stems as exemplified in Table 6.9 exhibit this rule.

### 6.3.2.3 *ti-* ‘third person singular’

The third person singular subject is realized as *t-*, *c-*, and <*i*>. The allomorphic forms can be illustrated in Table 6.10 and Table 6.11.

When *ti-* is affixed to V-initial stem, it is just realized as *t-*. However, the allomorph *t-* has to be followed by a further explanation of phonological processes: vowel merger and vowel deletion.

Table 6.10. The allomorph of *ti-* form in the V-initial stem with vowel merger and vowel deletion processes.

	<i>-awe</i> ‘look for’	<i>-ari</i> ‘dry’	<i>-apo</i> ‘tell story’	<i>-aning</i> ‘clean’	<i>-avayang</i> ‘buy’	<i>-apay</i> ‘use’	<i>-ihang</i> ‘structure’
<i>ti-</i> ‘3SG’	<i>t-ewe</i>	<i>t-eri</i>	<i>t-epo</i>	<i>t-ening</i>	<i>t-evayang</i>	<i>t-epay</i>	<i>t-ihang</i>

Table 6.11. The allomorph of *ti-* form in the V-initial stem with palatalization process.

	<i>-ang</i> ‘eat’	<i>-ihang</i> ‘structure’	<i>-ena</i> ‘sleep’	<i>-onane</i> ‘cause’	<i>-otara</i> ‘boil’	<i>-utang</i> ‘ask’
<i>ti-</i> ‘3SG’	<i>c-ang</i>	<i>c-ihang</i>	<i>c-ena</i>	<i>c-onane</i>	<i>c-otara</i>	<i>c-utang</i>



There is good justification to posit that the underlying form of the third person singular subject is *ti-*. The *t-* and *c-* allomorphs and the related phonological alternation are predictable.

Firstly, the affixation of the third person singular subject triggers an alternation of the initial V of the stem: *a>e*, as in *-awe* ‘look for’ > *t-ewe* ‘3SG-look for’. This alternation is expected on the analysis that the subject prefix is *ti-*, consisting of the final /i/ vowel, which then triggers the alternation. This is a phonological process of vowel merger, also found in other languages: /i/ (high vowel) + /a/ (low vowel) merge to become /e/ (mid vowel) (see the rule for vowel merger in (1)).

Secondly, *ti-* undergoes palatalization in the affixation process. The palatalization of sequence /ti/ as [c] appears to be motivated by the phonotactics in this language which does not allow consonant clusters in the syllable onset, and forces it to consist of a single consonant. Note that this happens when the stem is V-initial. The palatalization rule specific to this prefix can be formulated as (6):

(6)  $ti- \rightarrow c- / \_ V\{\text{STEM}\}$

The formation of the surface form of *c-ang* ‘3SG.eat’ is shown in (7):

(7) U.F:  $ti-$  ‘3SG’ + *-ang* ‘eat’  
 Prefix palatalization:  $ti->c$   
 S.F  $cang$  ‘3SG.eat’

The morpho-phonological processes as shown in (7) are simply palatalization. In the case of the verb *tihang* ‘3SG-structure’, which has another allomorph, that is *cihang* ‘3SG-structure’, another analysis is needed.

- (8) U.F: *ti-* ‘3SG’ + *ihang* ‘structure’  
 Prefix palatalization: *ti* > *c*  
 Palatalization : *c + i* > *c* /\*chang/ [CC cluster is not allowed]  
 S.F: *cihang* ‘3SG-structure’

Finally, the same property as found in *bu+u* {stem} → *b-u* {stem} in Table 6 above is observed here. That is, identical vowels trigger the deletion of one vowel. Thus the form *tihang* ‘3SG.structure’ can be accounted for only on the analysis that the prefix has the same vowel, i.e. *ti-* rather than simply *t-*.

Affixed to the C-initial stem, the third person singular subject *ti-* is realized as <*i*> and *c-*, as seen in Table 6.12:

Table 6.12. The realization of *ti-* form in the C-initial stems with several phonological outcomes.

	<i>hay</i>	<i>roy</i>	<i>perang</i>	<i>tawa</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>mata</i>	<i>mumpi</i>
	cry	sing	cut	fall	walk	bring	itch	‘look for’
<i>ti</i> -3SG	<i>h&lt;i&gt;ay</i>	<i>r&lt;i&gt;oy</i>	<i>p&lt;i&gt;erang</i>	<i>cawa</i>	<i>r&lt;i&gt;a</i>	<i>k&lt;i&gt;o</i>	<i>m&lt;i&gt;ata</i>	<i>m&lt;i&gt;umpi</i>

The realization of the affix as an infix is the outcome of metathesis, followed by segment deletion. The metathesis is triggered by the morpho-phonological process of an affixation of *ti-* with the C-initial stem, formulated as (9) below.

- (9) Affix metathesis  
 $ti- + C\{\text{stem}\} \rightarrow C\langle ti \rangle\{\text{stem}\}$

The metathesis then results in a consonant cluster, which itself triggers a segment deletion. This deletion is again a natural process in this language which disallows a consonant cluster in the onset. The formation of *ria* ‘3SG.walk’ can be shown in (10).

- (10) U.F:            *ti-* ‘3SG’ + *-ra* ‘walk’  
 Metathesis:    r<ti>a  
 C-deletion:    t>∅  
 S.F:            *ria*    ‘3SG.walk’

Our analysis correctly predicts the realisation of *cawa* ‘3SG.fall’ as the result of the interaction of rules so far described. This is shown in (11):

- (11) U.F:            *ti-* ‘3SG’ + *-tawa* ‘fall’  
 Metathesis:    t<ti>awa  
 C-deletion    t>∅  
 Palatalization: ti>c  
 S.F:            *cawa* ‘3SG.walk’

The formation of *cawa* suggests that palatalization takes place after the metathesis, because if it took place first then the output would be \**tawa* ‘3SG.fall’.

- (12) Incorrect formation:  
 U.F:            *ti-* ‘3SG’ + *-tawa* ‘fall’  
 Palatalization: ti>c  
 Metathesis:    t<c>awa  
 C-deletion:    c>∅  
 S.F:            \**tawa*

Vowel retention also occurs in this process applied for both *bu-* and *ti-*. The general rule is that the vowel retention takes place after the C-deletion. This process is illustrated in (5).

### 6.3.3 Non-singular subject forms

The non-singular subject markers in Wooi with the dual and plural markers segmented are given in Table 6.13.

Table 6.13. The non-singular subject prefixes and their person/number markers.

Person/number feature	Person markers	Number markers
1DU EXC	<i>u-</i>	<i>r-</i> 'DU'
1DU INC	<i>tu-</i>	<i>r-</i> 'DU'
2DU	<i>mu-</i>	<i>r-</i> 'DU'
3DU	<i>hu-</i>	<i>r-</i> 'DU'
1P ECX	<i>ma-</i>	<i>t'</i> 'PL'
1P INC	<i>ta-</i>	<i>t'</i> 'PL'
2P	<i>me-</i>	<i>t-</i> 'PL'
3P	<i>he-</i>	<i>t-</i> 'PL'

The difference between dual and plural forms is not only marked by the number markers *r-* 'dual' and *t-* 'plural', but also the vowels of the subject prefixes, i.e. the vowel /u/ for dual and the vowel /a/ or /e/ for plural. This can be schematized as follows:

	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>
	exc. inc		
DU	u- t-u	m-u	h-u
PL:	m-a t-a	m-e	h-e

### 6.3.3.1 Dual person forms

Dual number consists of four different person forms: *ur-* '1DU.EXC', *tur-* '1DU.INC', *mur-* '2DU' and *hur-* '3DU'. They are all realized as those of underlying forms when they are affixed to the V-initial stem. It is a straightforward rule when the subject and number markers simply attach to the V-initial stem, without any morpho-phonological processes. This is exemplified in Table 6.14.

Table 6.14. The realization of the dual forms in terms of person and number markings in the verbs with the V-initial stems.

Person/Number	Underlying form	Verb stems			
		<i>-ang</i>	<i>-ena</i>	<i>-avayang</i>	<i>-apay</i>
		eat	sleep	buy	use
1DU.EXC	ur	<i>urang</i>	<i>urena</i>	<i>uravayang</i>	<i>urapay</i>
1DU.INC	tur	<i>turang</i>	<i>turena</i>	<i>turavayang</i>	<i>turapay</i>
2DU	mur	<i>murang</i>	<i>murena</i>	<i>muravayang</i>	<i>murapay</i>
3DU	hur	<i>hurang</i>	<i>hurena</i>	<i>huravayang</i>	<i>hurapay</i>

When a dual marker attaches to verbs with C-initial stems, some morpho-phonological processes have to be explained. They are homorganic nasal assimilation and fortition. Table 6.15 shows the realization of the dual forms when attaching to the C-initial verb stems.

Table 6.15. The realization of the dual forms in terms of person and number markings in the verbs with C-initial stems.

Person/ number	Underlying Form	Verb stems				
		<i>perang</i> ‘cut’	<i>kavio</i> ‘talk to’	<i>ra</i> ‘go’	<i>mararising</i> ‘like’	<i>hay</i> ‘cry’
1DU.EXC	<i>ur-</i>	<i>u-m-perang</i>	<i>u-ng-kavio</i>	<i>u-n-da</i>	<i>u-mararising</i>	<i>u-say</i>
1DU.INC	<i>tur-</i>	<i>tu-m-perang</i>	<i>tu-ng-kavio</i>	<i>tu-n-da</i>	<i>tu-mararising</i>	<i>tu-say</i>
2DU	<i>mur-</i>	<i>mu-m-perang</i>	<i>mu-ng-kavio</i>	<i>mu-n-da</i>	<i>mu-mararising</i>	<i>mu-say</i>
3DU	<i>hur-</i>	<i>hu-m-perang</i>	<i>hu-ng-kavio</i>	<i>hu-n-da</i>	<i>hu-mararising</i>	<i>hu-say</i>

When the dual marker attaches to a stop consonant stem, a homorganic cluster is formed by a nasal assimilation process. This can be hypothesized in the following rule:

$$(13) \quad r- \rightarrow N / \_\_\_ \quad C\{+stop; \alpha \text{ place}\}$$

$$[\alpha \text{ place}]$$

When it attaches to a continuant consonant stem, the homorganic cluster occurs in two steps: fortition and assimilation. This is illustrated in (14) and (15).

(14) U.F:  $r-$  ‘DU’ +  $-ra$  ‘go’  
Fortition:  $r- + r > d$  [of the initial verb stem]  
Nasal assimilation:  $r- + d > nd$   
S.F: *hunda* ‘3DU-DU-go’

- (15)  $t- \rightarrow h / \_\_\_ C\{+fricative; \alpha place\}$   
 [ $\alpha place$ ]

However, the rule in (15) has to be explained in several steps in order as in (16).

- (16) U.F:  $r-$  ‘DU’ + *-hay* ‘cry’  
 Fortition:  $r-$  +  $h > s$  [of the initial verb stem]  
 Assimilation:  $r-$  +  $s > s$   
 S.F: *husay* ‘3DU-DU-cry’

When it attaches to a nasal initial stem, a nasal assimilation occurs. This can be illustrated in rule (17).

- (17)  $r- \rightarrow \emptyset / \_\_\_ C\{+nasal; \alpha place\}$   
 [ $\alpha place$ ]

The rule in (17) also has to be explained in the following process in order as in (18).

- (18) U.F:  $r-$  ‘DU’ + *-mararising* ‘like’  
 Nasal assimilation:  $r-$  +  $m > m$  [of the initial verb stem]  
 S.F: *humararising* ‘3DU-DU-like’

### 6.3.3.2 Plural person forms

Like the dual forms, plural forms also consist of 4 person forms: *mat* ‘1PL.EXC’, *tat* ‘1PL.INC’, *met* ‘2PL’, and *het* ‘3PL’. The realization as underlying forms occurs when they simply attach to the V-initial verb stem. There is no morpho-phonological explanation needed in this respect. This can be illustrated in Table 6.16.

Table 6.16. The realization of plural person forms with the V-initial stems.

Person/Number	Underlying form	Verb stems			
		<i>-ang</i>	<i>-ena</i>	<i>-avayang</i>	<i>-apay</i>
		eat	sleep	buy	use
1PL.EXC	mat-	<i>matang</i>	<i>matena</i>	<i>matavayang</i>	<i>matapay</i>
1PL.INC	tat-	<i>tatang</i>	<i>tatena</i>	<i>tatavayang</i>	<i>tatapay</i>
2PL	met-	<i>metang</i>	<i>metena</i>	<i>metavayang</i>	<i>metapay</i>
3PL	het-	<i>hetang</i>	<i>hetena</i>	<i>hetavayang</i>	<i>hetapay</i>

When they attach to the C-initial stems, the subject-verb agreement needs further explanation in terms of morpho-phonological processes. Table 6.17 shows the processes in the paradigm.

Table 6.17. The realization of plural person forms with C-initial verb stems.

Person/ number	Underlying form	Verb stems				
		<i>perang</i>	<i>kavio</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>mararising</i>	<i>hay</i>
		cut	talk	go	like	cry
1PL.EXC	mat-	<i>ma-m-perang</i>	<i>ma-ng-kavio</i>	<i>ma-n-da</i>	<i>ma-mararising</i>	<i>ma-say</i>
1PL.INC	tat-	<i>ta-m-perang</i>	<i>ta-ng-kavio</i>	<i>ta-n-da</i>	<i>ta-mararising</i>	<i>ta-say</i>
2PL	met-	<i>me-m-perang</i>	<i>me-ng-kavio</i>	<i>me-n-da</i>	<i>me-mararising</i>	<i>me-say</i>
3PL	het-	<i>he-m-perang</i>	<i>he-ng-kavio</i>	<i>he-n-da</i>	<i>he-mararising</i>	<i>he-say</i>

The morpho-phonological processes occurring here are: homorganic cluster with nasal assimilation and fortition. These processes can be explained in accordance with rules in (16), (17), and (18) that are also applied for the dual forms.

### 6.3.4 The generic subject *e-* ‘3PL.INDEF’

The generic subject marker *e-* is used to refer to an unspecified or unidentified person. Morphologically, it also affixes to verbs as other subject markers described in §6.3.2 and §6.3.3. It also undergoes morpho-phonological processes described in §6.3.3.2.

It is exemplified in (19) and (20).

- (19) *Interi e: etondano endobang ay baba*  
 Interi e e-t-ong=mara=o e-t-robang ai baba  
 Then FILL 3PL.INDEF-PL-make=then=FILE 3PL.INDEF-PL-cut tree big
- vanei rea no...*  
 va-ne-i rea no  
 NEU-PRX-SG again until  
 ‘Then they make, then they cut the big tree again until...’[gardening\_exp1\_JEN 007-010]





(23) *Agus cutu maria ho nyokraway*  
 Agus ti-utu maria ho nyokrawai  
 Agus 3SG-bucket water INS coconut shell  
 ‘Agus bucketed the water with coconut shell.’

(24) *Markus riora Jon ho ay nei*  
 Markus ti-rora Jon ho ai ne-i  
 Markus 3SG-hit John INS wood PRX-SG  
 ‘Markus hit John with this piece of wood.’

Combining the applicative marker *in-* and the instrumental *ho* in the basic clause structure as in (25) a and b is ungrammatical in Woi. They belong to different grammatical constructions: one belongs to the focus construction (further described in §12.5.2) and the other belongs to the basic clause with instrument arguments (see chapter 8).

(25) a. \**Agus tiintutu maria ho nyokraway*  
 Agus ti-in-tutu maria ho nyokrawai  
 Agus 3SG-APPL-bucket water INS coconut shell  
 ‘Agus bucketed the water with the coconut shell.’

b. \**Markus tiindora Jon ho ay nei*  
 Markus ti-in-rora Jon ho ai ne-i  
 Markus 3SG-APPL-hit John INS wood PRX-SG  
 ‘Markus hit John with this piece of wood.’

Likewise, having the instrumental marker *ho* in the focus construction in which the applicative prefix *in-* is used is also ungrammatical in Woi as in (26).

(26) a. \**ho nyokraway ti Agus tiintutu maria pa*  
 ho nyokrawai ti Agus ti-in-tutu maria pa  
 INS coconut.shell FOC.SG Agus 3SG-APPL-bucket water FOC  
 ‘It is the coconut shell that Agus used to bucket the water.’

b. \**ho ay nei ti Markus tiindora Joni*  
 ho ai ne-i ti Markus ti-in-rora Joni  
 INS wood PRX-SG FOC.SG Markus 3SG-APPL-hit John  
 ‘It is this piece of wood that Markus used to hit John.’

Phonologically, allomorphs of the applicative prefix *in-* are in complementary distribution. This is visible in the morphological realization. The applicative prefix has various phonetic realizations, such as [in-], [i-], [int-], [im-], [ing-], [ind-], and [is-]. These

complementary distributions are predictable through three phonological processes: homorganic nasal, fortition, and consonant insertion.

Homorganic nasal assimilation:

- (27) /in-tung=i/ → [intuni] = *intuni* ‘I use (it) to pound’  
 (28) /in-mung=i/ → [imuni] = *imuni* ‘I use (it) to kill’  
 (29) /in-perang=i/ → [imperani] = *imperani* ‘I use (it) to cut it’  
 (30) /in-kapa=i/ → [ingkapari] = *ingkapari* ‘I use (it) to kick it’

Fortition:

- (31) /in-rora=i/ → [indorai] = *indorai* ‘I use (it) to hit it’  
 (32) /in-huha=i/ → [isuhai] = *isuhai* ‘I use (it) to clean it’

Consonant insertion:

- (33) /ti-in-t-ong=i/ → [tintoni] = *tintoni* ‘he/she used (it) to build it’

## 6.5 Verbs with possessive morphology

Some sets of verbs in Wooi do not follow the common pattern of verb inflection described in §6.3. Rather, they take possessive morphology to index the subject argument on the verb.

- |      |                             |                                  |                   |                 |
|------|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| (34) | <b><i>Taramuho</i></b>      | <b><i>masala</i><sup>1</sup></b> | <b><i>pai</i></b> | <b><i>e</i></b> |
|      | tara <sup>2</sup> -mu-ho    | masala                           | pa-i              | e               |
|      | ear-2SG.PSR-HO              | problem                          | DIST-SG           | Q               |
|      | ‘Did you hear the problem?’ |                                  |                   |                 |

<sup>1</sup>*Masala* is a loan word from Malay.

<sup>2</sup> The noun *tara* is the abbreviated form of *tarakamrei* ‘ear’.

- (35) *Hesoho*                      *roveang*              *pi*      *hey*      *ne*  
 he-t-ho<sup>3</sup>-ho                      roveang              pi      hei      ne  
 3PL.PSR-PL.nose-HO      food                      DEI      smell      PRX.NSG  
 ‘They smelled the aroma of food.’ [Lit. they use their noses to smell the food.]

The verbs with possessive morphology in (34) and (35) reflect the direct possessive type in the possessive constructions. Let’s consider the following examples.

- (36) *Taramu*  
 tara-mu  
 ear-2SG.PSR  
 ‘Your ears.’

- (37) *Hesokama*  
 he-hokama  
 3PL.PSR-nose  
 ‘Their noses.’

The subject markers in (34) and (35) are basically the possessor marker shown in (36) and (37). The full set of possessor markers in the possessive constructions can be seen in §3.2.1.3.2 and §5.2.

In Wooi, verbs of this type have undergone a process of verbalization and compositionally have a possessor as the subject and the instrumental suffix *-ho* is used as the verbalized marker. The suffix *-ho* basically a captured preposition, which derives from the instrumentizer *ho*. The syntactic position of the suffix is post-verbal and it precedes an instrumental NP.

The same syntactic position is represented in the morphological position of the marker *-ho* in verbs under the verbalization process as in (38). The syntactic position of the preposition *ho* ‘INS’ is given in §9.5.1. Thus, the whole morphological construction of this type of verb can mean someone uses his/her body parts to do something. Semantically, these verbs are categorized as transitive ‘sensing’ verbs’ such as smell, hear, see, love/remember, and be queasy. Let us consider the example in (38).

---

<sup>3</sup>The morpheme *ho* is the abbreviated form of *hokama* ‘nose’.

- (38) **Remuho**                      **muang**                      **wampa**                      **e**  
rekami-mu-ho                      muang                      wang-pa                      e  
eye-2SG.PSR-HO                      man                      there.2-DIST[NSG]                      Q  
‘Do you see those men? [Lit. Your eyes these men?’]

The verb *remuho* ‘your eyes with’ consists of *re(kami)* ‘eye’ plus *-mu* ‘2SG.POSS’ plus *-ho* ‘INS’. Other sensing verbs categorized in this type are illustrated in (39-41).

- (39) **Andi taraho**                      **mangkavio**                      **ne**  
Andi tara<sup>4</sup>-ho                      ma-kavio                      e  
Andi [3SG.PSR]ear-HO                      1PL.EXC-talk                      Q  
‘Did Andi hear us talking?’ [Lit. Andi used his ear to listen to us talking]

- (40) **Hendeho**                      **ya**                      **na**                      **pandu wampai**                      **na**                      **ramdempe**  
he-re<sup>5</sup>-ho                      ya                      na                      pandu wang-pa-i                      na                      ramdempe  
3PL.PSR-eye-HO 1SG                      LOC                      village there.2-DIST-SG LOC                      yesterday  
‘They saw me in that village yesterday.’

- (41) **Masaneho**                      **mantamami**                      **kong**  
ma-hane-ho                      ma-tama-m-i                      kong  
1PL.EXC-stomach-HO                      1PL.EXC.PSR-father-NSG-SG                      COM

**masinyami**                      **haru**  
ma-hinya-m-i                      haru  
1PL.EXC.PSR-mother-NSG-SG                      3DU  
‘We love/remember our father and mother.’

Other verbs are complex and derived from body parts (see §5.3.1.3). In this case, the possessor indexing functions as the subject argument in the secondary predicate in the complex predicate construction. Morphologically, the form of verbs and the subject marker follow the pattern of the direct possessive construction of compound words, as described in §5.3.1.3. This can be illustrated in (42) and (43).

- (42) **Yona**                      **hanengharare**                      **e**  
y-ona                      hane-ng-harare                      e  
1SG-cause                      stomach-2SG.PSR-roll                      Q  
‘Did I make you feel queasy?’ [Lit. Did I cause your stomach rolled?]

<sup>4</sup> The noun *tara* is the abbreviated form of *tarakamrei* ‘ear’.

<sup>5</sup> The noun *re* is the abbreviated form of *rekami* ‘eye’. Most verbs of this type take the abbreviated forms as the head of verb constructions.



This type of construction has also been described for some Oceanic languages, especially those of the North West Solomonic languages (Palmer 2003, 2011), and languages such as Aroma, Suau, Lenakel and Fijian (Lynch 1974) also appear to have possessive morphology that indexes the subject or object on verbs. Palmer (2011: 686) states:

“In every subgroup of the Northwest Solomonic (NWS) branch of Oceanic, morphology also or formerly used with a nominal possessor-indexing function occurs in verbal constructions indexing the subject. This post verbal subject-indexing (henceforth PVSI) was investigated by Ross (1982) in languages of three NWS subgroups: Nehan/North-Bougainville, Piva-Bannoni, and Mono-Uruavan. Ross (1988: 250-251) later briefly noted a related phenomenon in two languages of the New Georgia/Isabel subgroup.”

As the construction might spread out and become a common feature of the area, further research is needed to see in what degree it becomes an areal feature and how the construction relates to such a construction found in Oceanic languages.

## **6.6 The verbalizer *ve-* ‘VBLZ’**

### **6.6.1 The verbalizer *ve-* on nominal-based words**

The prefix *ve-* functions as a verbalizer. It prefixes to nouns, in order to derive verbs. When it attaches to nouns, it denotes states or processes of change. The followings are some of nouns that can takes the verbalizer *ve-*:

Table 6.18. Examples of Wooi nouns that can undergo the verbalization process.

<b>Noun</b>	<b>ve- form</b>	<b>Meaning</b>
<i>pandu</i> ‘village’	<i>vepandu</i>	‘to settle’
<i>romi</i> ‘garden’	<i>veromi</i>	‘to garden’
<i>buong</i> ‘fruit’	<i>vebuong</i>	‘to bear fruit’
<i>vavu</i> ‘ash’	<i>vevavu</i>	‘to become ash’
<i>kami</i> ‘stone’	<i>vekami</i>	‘to be a stone’
<i>wa</i> ‘canoe’	<i>vewa</i>	‘to be a canoe’
<i>nyapa</i> ‘sand’	<i>venyapa</i>	‘to have sand’
<i>rorang</i> ‘inside’	<i>verorang</i>	‘to be inside’
<i>wanang</i> ‘wind’	<i>vewanang</i>	‘to have wind’
<i>nebuong</i> ‘egg’	<i>venebuong</i>	‘to lay eggs/ to have eggs’

After the verbalization process occurs, the verb becomes productive and has a capability to take a subject marker. For instance, the verb *vepandu* ‘to settle’ can have subject markers as in the paradigm in Table 6.19 below.

Table 6.19. Underlying phonological forms and surface morphological forms of the verbalizer *ve-* in the paradigm.

<b>Person/number</b>	<b>Underlying form</b>	<b>Surface form</b>	<b>Meaning</b>
1SG	/ve-pandu/	[vepandu]	‘I settled in village.’
2SG	/bu-ve-pandu/	[wepandu]	‘You settled in village.’
3SG	/ti-ve-pandu/	[vepandu]	‘He/she settled in village.’
1DU.EXC	/u-ve-pandu/	[umbepandu]	‘We (two) settled in village.’
1DU.INC	/tu-ve-pandu/	[tumbepandu]	‘We (two) settled in village.’
2DU	/mu-ve-pandu/	[mumbepandu]	‘You (two) settled in village.’
3DU	/hu-ve-pandu/	[humbepandu]	‘They (two) settled in village.’
1PL.EXC	/ma-ve-pandu/	[mambepandu]	‘We settled in village.’
1PL.INC	/ta-ve-pandu/	[tambepandu]	‘We settled in village.’
2PL	/me-ve-pandu/	[membepandu]	‘You settled in village.’
3PL	/he-ve-pandu/	[hembepandu]	‘They settled in village.’

In the morphological realization, the allomorphic variations: *ve-*, *we-*, *be-* occur and need to be further explained in terms of phonological processes. There are five phonological rules needed to describe the morphological realization of the verbalizer *ve-*. They are lenition, metathesis, fortition, vowel merger and nasal assimilation.





take the subject marker to indicate the subject of the predicate. The following are the lists of nouns denoting occupation taking the verbalizer *ve-* and their subject marker paradigm.

Table 6.20. Examples of nouns, including loan nouns from Papuan Malay, that have undergone verbalization.

<b>Noun</b>	<b>ve-form</b>	<b>Subject marker paradigm</b>	<b>meaning</b>
<i>Mananu</i> ‘noble man’	<i>Vemananu</i>	<i>Wemananu</i> <i>Hembemananu</i>	‘you become a noble man’ ‘they become a noble man’
<i>Tata</i> ‘mad man’	<i>Vetata</i>	<i>Vetata</i> <i>Humbetata</i>	‘I/he/she become(s) a madman’ ‘They (DU) become a madman’
<i>Kuru</i> ‘teacher’	<i>Vekuru</i>	<i>tambekuru</i>	‘We (inc.) become teachers’
<i>Pandita</i> ‘pastor’	<i>Vepandita</i>	<i>Hembepandita</i>	‘They become pastors’
<i>Mantri</i> ‘nurse’	<i>vemantri</i>	<i>Vemantri</i>	‘I/he/she become(s) a nurse.’
<i>Pegawe</i> ‘civil servant’	<i>vepegawe</i>	<i>humbepegawe</i>	‘they two become civil servants’

The allomorphic variations in Table 6.20 show a similar process explained with the rules in (46), (47) and (48).

A number is also applicable for taking the verbalizer *ve-*. In all respects, it behaves like a noun taking the verbalizer *ve-*. It undergoes the verbalization process and then takes the subject marker. This is exemplified in (49) and (50).

(49) *Umbekoru*  
u-r-ve-koru  
1DU.EXC-DU-VBLZ-two  
‘We are two.’

(50) *Neta baba hembetoru, raruong humbekoru*  
neta baba he-t-ve-toru raruong hu-r-ve-koru  
sibling big 3PL-PL-VBLZ-three female.sibling 3DU-DU-VBLZ-two  
‘He has three older brothers and has two sisters.’

Discussion of *ve-* with numerals is presented in §3.3.2.

## 6.6.2 The verbalizer *ve-* on loan words

The verbalizer *ve-* also occurs with loan words, especially Malay words. Many Malay words, especially verbs, are borrowed into Woi. The following are lists of Papuan Malay verbs in the *ve-* form:

Table 6.21. Examples of Papuan Malay verbs that have undergone verbalization.

Papuan Malay words	<i>ve-</i> form	Meaning
<i>karja</i> ‘work’	<i>vekarjang</i>	‘to work’
<i>bantu</i> ‘help’	<i>vebantu</i>	‘to help’
<i>bisa</i> ‘able’	<i>vebisa</i>	‘to be able’
<i>suntik</i> ‘inject’	<i>vesuntik</i>	‘to inject’
<i>lapor</i> ‘report’	<i>velaporan</i>	‘to report’
<i>warna</i> ‘color’	<i>vewarna</i>	‘to color’
<i>top</i> ‘good’	<i>vetop</i>	‘to be good’
<i>stel</i> ‘dress up’	<i>vestel</i>	‘to dress up’
<i>paku</i> ‘pinch’	<i>vepaku</i>	‘to pinch’
<i>kancing</i> ‘button’	<i>vekancing</i>	‘to dress up’
<i>mahal</i> ‘expensive’	<i>vemahal</i>	‘to be expensive’

When they are used in Woi discourse, the marker *ve-* grammaticalizes the loan word to become a verb in Woi and thus, it has the ability to take the grammatical properties of verbs. This is exemplified in (51) and (52).

- (51) ...*interi ainyang*      *hempaya*      *ha*      *katu*      *ninei*  
interi    ainyang      he-paya      ha      katu      ning-ne-i  
then    old.man      3PL-talk      day      small      here-PRX-SG
- ariang vavoru*      *ha*      *menem*      *peyna*  
*ariang vavoru*      *ha*      me-ne-N      peyna  
child    new      day      2PL-POSS-LINK      so
- membekarjang***      *nanuhara...*  
me-ve-kerja      *hanuhara*  
2PL-VBLZ-work      slow  
‘...and then the old men said, “Now is the time for you, the young generation. You must work properly.’

(52)	<i>Jon</i>	<i>veve</i>	<i>ramdempe</i>	<b><i>mambebantui</i></b>		<i>pai</i>
	Jon	veve	ramdempe	ma-ve-bantu=i		pa-i
	John	REL	yesterday	1PL.EXC-VBLZ-help=3SG		DIST-SG
	<i>vo</i>	<i>nye</i>	<i>wona</i>	<i>pai</i>	<i>vo</i>	<b><i>vebisa</i></b>
	vo	i-ne	wona	pa-i	vo	ve-bisa
	FOC.NOM	3SG-POSS	dog	DIST-SG	because	VBLZ-able
	<i>mambebantui</i>		<i>va</i>			
	ma-ve-bantu=i		va			
	1PL.EXC-VBLZ-help=3SG		NEG			

‘We could help John yesterday but we couldn’t make it to help his dog.’

## 6.7 Object clitics

Unlike subject markers that are obligatory in the verbal morphology, object clitics are not morphologically motivated. The object clitics are syntactically determined. In this section, object clitics are briefly described in comparison with the obligatory subject markers, which are integral parts of verbs – affixation.

Object clitics only occur when they are required by the following constructions:

1. Focused object construction;
2. Relative clauses: relativizing object.

The following are examples of object clitics in focus constructions and relative clauses:

(53)	<b><i>Anti</i></b>	<i>tandai</i>	<i>pa</i>
	anti	ta-rora= <b>i</b>	pa
	3SG.FOC	1PL.INC-hit=3SG	FOC

‘It is him that we hit.’

(54)	<i>Agus</i>	<i>ama</i>	<i>Jon</i>	<i>riama</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>nye</i>	<i>manu</i>	<i>pa</i>
	Agus	ama	Jon	ti-rora= <b>ama</b>	na	ne-i	manu	pa
	Agus	1PL.EXC	John	3SG-hit=1PL.EXC	LOC	POSS-3SG.PSR	house	FOC

‘It is Agus, I and associates that John hit at his house.’

(55)	<b><i>Hiuntaray</i></b>	<i>veve</i>	<i>Jon</i>	<i>riorai</i>	<i>pai</i>
	Hinyontarai	veve	Jon	ti-rora= <b>i</b>	pa-i
	man	REL	John	3SG-hit=3SG	DIST-SG

<i>ria</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>wampa</i>
ti-ra	to	wang-pa
3SG-walk	to	there.2-DIST[NSG]

‘The man whom John hit is walking there.’

In (53) and (54), the focused objects *anti* ‘3SG.FOC’ and *Agus ama* ‘Agus and I’ trigger the pronominal clitic=*i* for 3<sup>rd</sup> singular and =*ama* for 1<sup>st</sup> plural exclusive to fill the syntactic slot of the object in the basic clause structure. Focus is further described in Chapter 12. In (55), the pronominal clitic=*i* ‘3SG’ also occurs in the embedded clause, when the human object is relativized.

Note that object clitic may also occur when the object is mentioned again within the continued topic construction. Rather than restating an object NP, it is common that the object clitic is used. This is further described in §12.4.2.

As for the subject markers, allomorphic forms also occur when a clitic attaches to the verb. However, when they occur they are in complementary distribution. The pronominal copy clitic=*i*, in particular, has several realizations that are phonologically determined. From the data in the corpus, the variations include [=i], [=pi], [=ri], [=ti] and [=vi].

The form [=i] occurs when the verb stem ends with vowels /u/, /a/ or a nasal /N/, as illustrated in (56), (57) and (58).

(56) /bahu=i/ → [bahui] = *bahui* ‘I cut it’

(57) /y-awe hahera=i/ → [yawehaherai] = *yawehaherai* ‘I am searching again-again’

(58) /marising=i/ → [marisini] = *marisini* ‘I like it’

[=pi] occurs when the verb stem ends with vowel /i/ or with nasal /N/ as in the verb *kari* ‘bite’ and the verb *ang* ‘eat’. When taking an object it becomes as in (59) and (60).

(59) /ti-kari=i/ → [keripi] = *keripi* ‘3 SG bite something’

(60) /y-ang=i/ → [yampi] = *yampi* ‘1SG eat something’

[=ri] occurs when the verb stem ends with diphthongs such as /ai/ and /ui/ and also the vowel /o/ as illustrated in (61), (62) and (63).

(61) /y-apai=i/ → [yapayri] = *yapayri* ‘1SG use it (in order to do something)’

(62) /tui=i/ → [tuyri] = *tuyri* ‘1SG push it horizontally’

(63) /ko=i/ → [kori] = *kori* ‘I bring it’

[=ti] occurs when a monosyllabic verb stem ends with the diphthong /ai/ as illustrated in (64).

(64) /bai=i/ → [bayti] = *bayti* ‘I pay it’

[=wi] occurs when the verb stem ends with a diphthong /io/ in bisyllabic words as in (65).

(65) /hario=i/ → [hariowi] = *hariowi* ‘I carry it on the shoulder’

[=hi] occurs when the verb stem ends with diphthong /ie/ as in (66).

(66) /kahiei/ → [kahiehi] = *kahiehi* ‘I tie it/something’

[=ni] occurs when the verb stem ends with the vowel /a/ in the bi-syllabic stem as in (67).

(67) /kepai/ → [kepani] = *kepani* ‘I am holding it/something’

## 6.8 Prefix vs. clitic: person and number marking on verbs

In the preceding sections, subject pronominal agreement on the verb has been analyzed as a prefix and the object pronoun as a clitic. In this section, evidence is provided to support the analysis. After outlining the language-specific evidence in Woori, certain prototypical properties often used to distinguish an affix and a clitic are presented (Zwicky and Pullum 1983).

Both an affix and a clitic are bound forms. It is generally agreed that an affix is a bound form, part of morphology, whereas a clitic is a bound form, part of syntax. However, the distinction is not often clear cut, with cliticization and affixation perhaps better considered to form a continuum showing morphologicalization/grammaticalization: content

item (free word) > grammatical word >clitic> inflectional marking (affix) (see Wanner1977, Heggie and Ordóñez 2005, Zwicky and Pullum 1983, Corbett 2006, Spencer and Luís 2012). Thus, affixes and clitics are different along this continuum. It is not surprising to see that certain bound forms, as in the case with subject prefixal markers in Woi, exhibit a certain property that is more clitic-like. Consider the following two examples where English clearly distinguishes affixes (68) from clitics (69).

(68) She arrived early this morning.

(69) She's gone.

Considering the English examples in (68) and (69), Zwicky and Pullum (1983) give criteria to distinguish an affix from a clitic as follows:

- A. On the basis of the degree of (restricted vs. unrestricted) selection in respect to the hosts or stems. Clitics are considered low in degree of selection and affixes are high.
- B. Arbitrary gaps in the set of combinations involving syntactic structure, phonological properties of the host, category of the host, and sentence stress: Clitics are expected to be combined easily with their hosts. Affixes show more arbitrary gaps in the paradigm, and irregular forms often occur.
- C. Morpho-phonological idiosyncrasies: Clitics show regularity in following general rules in phonology and morphology when attaching to the hosts. Affixes, in some cases, show unexpected irregularity or sub-regularity among expected regular paradigm sets.
- D. Semantic idiosyncrasies: Clitics, more or less, contribute an identical meaning as those of their associated full forms. Whereas, affixes occasionally show

idiosyncratic behaviour in semantics, in which they can contribute to the semantic extension of words in which affixes host.

E. Syntactic rules can affect affixed words, but cannot affect clitic groups.

F. Clitics can attach to material already containing clitics, but affixes cannot.

These criteria are applicable to distinguish affixes (in this case subject markers) and clitics in Woor. The findings are summarized in Figure 6.4.

	<b>Criteria</b>	<b>SUBJECT-MARKER</b>	<b>PRONOMINAL OBJECT</b>
		Morphology	Syntax
(1)	Degree of selection	<b>Restricted</b> (only verbs)	<b>Unrestricted</b> (Noun, Verb, Preposition)
(2)	Degree of morphologicalization	High (Prefix)	Low (Enclitic)
(3)	Arbitrary gaps in the set of combination	More gaps	Less gaps
		Subject marker: prefix, infix, unmarked in morphological realization	Object, oblique arguments
		Possessor subject	
(4)	Morphophonological idiosyncrasies	Attract stress pattern	Do not attract stress
		More phonological assimilation: Consonant deletion, consonant change, vowel deletion, vowel merger, metathesis, fortition, and palatalization.	Less phonological assimilation: Consonant insertion
(5)	Semantic idiosyncrasy	Possessive in compound words	No
(6)	Syntax: Discourse effect	Not effected	Effected
(7)	Syntax: Relative clause structure	Gapping	Pronominal copy

Figure 6.4. Criteria to distinguish subject prefixes and clitics in Woor.

The criteria identified in Figure 6.4 show that subject markers on the verb in Woor mostly show affixation. Non-subject markers (i.e. object) are always clitics and they are motivated by syntactic structure, for instance, pronominal copy that occurs in relativization and the focus construction (further discussed in §8.3.2, in §11.3.3, and Chapter 12.).

# Chapter 7 – The Clause

## 7.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses different types of clauses in Woi. It begins by giving an overview of basic clausal structure and order of constituents in §7.2. The following sections focus on elaborating types of clauses in Woi. In §7.3, verbal clauses are described. This includes intransitive, transitive, ambitransitive and three-place predicate clauses. In §7.4, non-verbal clauses are described, which include nominal clauses, possessive clauses, locative clauses, existential clauses and comparative clauses. Section 7.5 discusses peripheral constituents in the clause. Section 7.6 describes negative clauses and two types of negators that are found in Woi. In Section 7.7, different types of non-declarative clauses are described. These include imperatives, prohibitives, permissives/invitations, and interrogatives. In §7.8, there is an overview of the extended clause structure in terms of its word order and argument realization, properties of the extended clause and variation in argument realization.

## 7.2. Overview of the basic clausal structure of Woi

A basic independent clause consists of a predicate (PRED), its arguments (ARG), and several peripheral elements (PERI) which are optionally present in the clause. The predicate subcategorizes for its simple arguments (subject, object, and oblique) and possibly clausal arguments as described in §7.3. Other clausal elements not required by the predicate, and functioning as modifiers to the clause, are classified as adjuncts (Ernst 2004:7). Adjuncts are therefore peripherals.



Wooi distinguishes two levels of clause structure, i.e. basic and extended clause structures. In the basic clause structure, arguments and peripheral elements are clearly distinguished, e.g. in terms of obligatoriness, categorical expressions and linear order. These three structural features are clear cut in Wooi basic clause structure, as illustrated in Table 7.1.

Table 7.1. Basic clausal structure in Wooi.

BASIC CLAUSE STRUCTURE							
(NP)	PRO-V	NP	PP	PP	PP	PART	Constituency
(PERI2)	ARG1-PRED	ARG2	ARG3	(PERI1)	(PERI2)	(NEG)/(PERF)/ (IMPERV)	Syntactic dependent

In regard to obligatoriness, the subject argument always affixes to the verb. When there is an NP co-referencing to the subject marker on the verb, it is not obligatory. It is placed immediately before the verb in the extended clause, which is the pragmatic slot, indicated by discourse function 2 (DF2) as in Table 7.2. The object argument always follows the verb. The oblique is always a prepositional phrase, immediately following the object. Peripheral elements are always outside this argument structure. Note that peripheral two (PERI2) can be interchangeably placed clause-initially but it cannot be placed in both positions respectively.

The extended clause in Wooi is always placed clause-initially. All constituents of the basic clause structure can be fronted for pragmatic reasons and only the focus particle is obligatorily placed clause finally. The structure is shown in Table 7.2.

Table 7.2. The extended clause structure in Wooi

EXTENDED CLAUSE			BASIC CLAUSE STRUCTURE		EXTENDED PART	
(NP)	NP	NP	(NP)	Figure 7.1.		PART
(PERI2)	DF1*	DF2	(PERI2)			FOC

DF1 and DF2 are different slots for different pragmatic functions. All other non-subject NPs, including non-subject arguments and peripheral elements, but not particles,

can be placed in DF1 and they all function as focus. Note that the asterisk (\*) in DF1 indicates that the focus slot can have up to two focused NPs. DF2 is for topic function. This is further discussed in §7.8 and in chapter 12.

Wooi shows a selective categorical expression in its basic clause structure. Table 7.1 shows that the subject must be obligatorily expressed by a pronoun, i.e., a bound pronoun. If the discourse requires another expression of subject, it must be expressed by an NP that precedes the verb (DF2). The object must be expressed by an NP and the oblique is expressed by a PP. Peripheral elements are always expressed by PPs. The selective categorical expressions are illustrated in (1).

	<u>PRO-V</u>	<u>NP</u>	<u>PP</u>	<u>PP</u>	
(1)	<i>Yong</i>	<i>doi</i>	<i>ve</i>	<i>Joni</i>	<i>na ramdempe.</i>
	y-ong	doi	ve	Jon-i	na ramdempe
	1SG-give	money	for	John-SG	LOC yesterday
	'I gave the money to John yesterday.'				

In terms of linear word order, Table 7.1 shows that Wooi is an SVO language. The word order is fixed on the basis of rigidity, tightness and adjacency principles. This is further discussed in §8.3. Thus, alternations within argument structure in the basic clause are not allowed. For instance, object alternation in a pure ditransitive sentence is not allowed in Wooi (see §7.3.4).

Further evidence of fixed word order is that whenever an argument is dislocated from its syntactic slot, as for a pragmatic reason, it requires a pronominal copy to retain its syntactic status as a core argument. This is further described in §7.8.1 and in chapter 12. Word order is also fixed in peripheral elements. The PP referring to a locative adjunct immediately follows the oblique and other PP adjuncts such as temporal adjuncts follow the locative PP. All other clausal elements such as clausal particles occur in the clause-final position. In (2), the negative particle *va* 'NEG', for instance, is placed in the clause-final position.

(2)	<i>...Imberomi</i>	<i>tane</i>	<i>budaya</i>	<i>nei</i>	<i>nyay</i>	<i>va...</i>
	...imberomi	ta-ne	budaya	ne-i	ti-nay	va
	...so.that	1PL.PSR-POSS	culture	PRX-SG	3SG-lost	NEG
	'...so that our culture does not disappear...' [art_coconut]					

### 7.3. Verbal clauses

A clause with a verb as its predicate is the most frequent type of clause in Wooi. All verbs with their morphosyntactic and semantic properties described in §3.2.2 fall into this type of clause. There are four different subtypes of typical verbal clauses, depending on the number and types of arguments verbs can take.

- (i) Intransitive: a clause which takes one (core) subject argument. This argument can have different semantic roles such as agentive Subject, patientive Subject, benefactor, and experiencer.
- (ii) Transitive: a clause which takes one (core) subject and one (core) object. These arguments can take various semantic roles. For subject, semantic roles can be: agentive subject, theme subject, experiencer subject, and benefactive subject. For object, semantic roles can be patientive object, stimulus object, and theme object.
- (iii) Ambitransitive: a clause in which the predicate can take either one core subject argument and/or two core arguments: the subject and the object. Semantic roles of arguments in a clause with one argument and or two arguments are different.
- (iv) Three-place predicate clause: a clause that has three (core) arguments, i.e the subject, the object, and the oblique. In Wooi, however, this type of clause is not ditransitive. It is best considered as a three-place predicate clause as there is no alternation between the object and the oblique as a pure ditransitive clause always does as in English and/or Indonesian (cf. Kaswanti Purwo 1997, Kim 2015)

Verbal predicates in Wooi have the following salient properties:

- a. Only the subject agrees with verbal predicates;
- b. Object and oblique always follow the verbal predicates syntactically. Morphologically, there is no agreement with the verb predicate in the basic clause structure.
- c. SVO word order is rigid in regard to fixed argument structure and predicate and other peripheral elements (also in chapter 8). Non-verbal predicates might have different word order.
- d. Focus construction and pronominal copy strategy (also in §12.5.2); and
- e. Gapping strategy and pronominal copy in the relative clause (also in §11.3.3.1.2 and §11.3.3.1.3).

### 7.3.1. Intransitive clauses

The simple intransitive clause requires a single core argument, grammatically the subject. The subject argument is realized morphologically as a subject marker on the verb. A verbal predicate in a clause without the subject marker is not acceptable, except in the serial verb construction, in which the second verb is a dependent verb and functions like an adverbial modifier to the previous verb in the sequence (see §10.4.1.2). A clause can be simply realized by an inflected verb, as in (3). It is ungrammatical if a subject marker does not agree with the verb, as in c and d.

- |     |    |   |    |  |
|-----|----|---|----|--|
| (3) | a. | <i>Yena</i><br>y-ena<br>1SG-sleep<br>'I slept/I am sleeping.' | b. | <i>Henda</i><br>he-t-ra<br>3PL-PL-go<br>'They go/They went.' |
|     | c. | * <i>ena</i><br>ena<br>sleep<br>'I sleep/I am sleeping'       | d. | * <i>ra</i><br>ra<br>go<br>'They go/they went.'              |

As can be seen, the obligatory bound pronoun functions as the subject. However, a full NP can optionally co-reference to the subject marker on the verb. This is

pragmatically motivated. The NP is placed in the topic position that immediately precedes the predicate, and it functions to provide ‘extra referential information’ about the subject. It typically agrees with the subject marker on the verb in terms of person and number features. For example, the NP *Markus* provides unique referential information to the bound pronoun *ti-* ‘3SG’ in (4a).

- (4) a. *Markus hiuhi payna ratutu i to ruma sakit*  
 Markus ti-huhi paina ratutu i to ruma sakit  
 Markus 3SG-sick so bring 3SG to hospital  
 ‘Markus is sick so I took him to the hospital’
- b. \**Markus huhi payna ratutu i to ruma sakit*  
 Markus huhi paina ratutu i to ruma sakit  
 Markus sick so bring 3SG to hospital  
 ‘Markus is sick so I took him to the hospital’

It should be noted that it is ungrammatical for the morphological subject prefix to be deleted when a full NP is present, as in (4b). This could be taken as evidence that the real subject is the pronominal prefix rather than a clitic that is considered a syntactic unit. If it were a clitic, it would be a syntactic entity in the subject position, and in its absence the free NP is expected to serve as the subject NP satisfying the subcategorization frame of the predicate.

The relationship between the free (optional) NP and the pronominal prefix is not syntactic subject-verb agreement of the type found in English. Apart from the fact that the free subject NP is optional in Woi, the free NP and the bound pronoun in Woi do not necessarily agree in the number feature. The syntactic agreement in number is part of the associative plural (Lichtenberk 2000; Moravcsik 2003). This is exemplified in (5): *Rina* is logically a singular entity but its co-referent subject marker *he-* ‘3PL’ on the verb is plural. They are acceptable as they form an associative plural construction with the meaning as seen from the free translation.

- (5) *Rina henda ma ho Harui na ramdempe*  
 Rina he-t-ra ma ho Harui na ramdempe  
 Rina 3PL-PL-go hither LOC.REAL Serui LOC yesterday  
 ‘Rina and associates arrived from Serui yesterday’

Adjectival verbs behave like verbs in INTR clauses. Morphosyntactically, there is no distinction between the INTR clause with an action verbal predicate, as in (6): their verbs take subject prefix morphology. Adjectival verbs semantically describe psychological states of affairs such as *feel*, *sick*, *good*, *bad*, etc., and stative adjectives such as *big* and *small*, but behave morphologically and syntactically like any other intransitive verb. The following are examples of stative intransitive clauses.

- (6) a. **Merarising**  
 ti-mararising  
 3SG-happy  
 ‘He is happy’
- b. *Pinamnay wampai beba mantaung*  
 pinamunai wang-pa-i ti-baba mantaung  
 snake there.2-DIST-SG 3SG-big very  
 ‘That snake is very big’

An intransitive clause can also have a derived verb with the verbalizer *ve*-‘VBLZ’, when the verbalization of noun allows it to be used in a verbal predicate. Thus, the derived verb also takes the subject marker, as in (7).

- (7) **Hembepandu** na nyapa Inawos...  
 he-t-ve-pandu na nyapa Inawos...  
 3PL-PL-VBLZ-village LOC beach Inawos  
 ‘They settled at the Inawos beach...’ [MARGA\_Kirihio\_JEYN]

Loan words from Malay such as *karja* ‘work’, as in (8) are also verbalized when they function predicatively in Woi, as in (8).

- (8) *Interi ainyang hempaya, ha katu ninei*  
 interi ainya=N he-t-paya ha katu ning-ne-i  
 then old.person=LIG 3PL-PL-talk day small this-PRX-SG
- ariang vavoru ha menem peyna*  
 ariang vavoru ha me-ne=N peina  
 child new day 2PL-POSS-LIG so
- membekarjang** nanuhara  
 me-t-ve-kerja nanuhara  
 2PL-PL-VBLZ-work slow  
 ‘...then the old man said, “today is your young people’s time. You must work properly...”’

### 7.3.2. Transitive clauses

Transitive clauses require two arguments, a subject and an object. The basic syntactic constituent order of the transitive clause in Woori is subject-verb-object (SVO) and the order is fixed. The subject prefixed to the verb is the same prefix for the intransitive verb. The object syntactically follows the verb as a free NP filled in by a common noun, as in (9), a free pronoun (10a) and a proper name as in (10b).

- (9) a. ***Yam pa***  
 y-ang pa  
 1SG-eat rice  
 'I ate (some) rice.'
- b. ***Mangko taung na nye manu vanei***  
 ma-t-ko taung na ti-ne manu va-ne-i  
 1PL.EXC-PL-carry sago LOC 3SG-POSS house NEU-PRX-SG  
 'We carried sago at his/her house there'
- (10) a. ***Cong ya na maria wampai ma***  
 ti-ong ya na maria wang-pa-i ma  
 3SG-follow 1SG LOC water there.2-DIST-SG hither  
 'He/she followed me at the river'
- b. ***Jon hendora Agus hia na ramdempe***  
 Jon he-t-rora Agus hia na ramdempe  
 John 3PL-PL-hit Agus 3PL LOC yesterday  
 'John and associates hit Agus and associates yesterday'

Several variations of constituent order are found in which the object is fronted. The placement of the OBJ in clause-initial position is pragmatically motivated. This structure with a fronted object is an extended structure, with the basic clause structure remaining the same. In the basic clause structure the OBJ is retained by having a pronominal copy, which is =i in (11). This is further discussed in §7.8 and in chapter 12.

- (11) ***Markus ti tatuvai pa***  
 Markus ti tatuva=i pa  
 Markus FOC.SG 1SG-order=3SG FOC  
 'It is Markus that I ordered.'

The fronted NP (*Markus*) in (11) is pragmatically the prominent element in the sentence. It functions as the contrastive focus of the sentence. Focus constructions are further discussed in §7.8., and chapter 12.

### 7.3.3. Ambitransitive clauses

Some verbs have the ability to appear in intransitive as well as transitive clauses. The verb *kahiow* ‘angry’, for instance, can have two different valence structures. In (12a), it only has one argument, which is the subject, while in (12b), the verb can have two arguments, which are subject and object.

- (12) a. *Kehiow*      *kaira*  
ti-kahiou      kaira  
3SG-angry      very  
‘He is very angry.’
- b. *Kehiow*      *ya*      *kaira*  
ti-kahiow      ya      kaira  
3SG-angry      1SG      very  
‘He/she is very angry with me’

Note that the adverb *kaira* and *kira* in (12) a and b are the same. They are simply phonological alternates.

One verb, *hay* ‘cry’ can occur in three different syntactic valence structures as exemplified in (13) a, b and c. It can be simply a one-place intransitive clause as in (a) in which the subject is the experiencer of the action of crying, and there is no other syntactic dependent. In (b) and (c), the same verb appears in sentences with two syntactic arguments. The status of the second post verbal arguments are different, however: direct object in (b) vs. an oblique object in (c). While in both sentences, the second argument is a stimulus, the two sentences have different meaning. The difference is in the affectedness of the object argument whether the object is someone who is dead (b) or is still alive (c).

- (13) a. *Hay*  
1SG.cry  
‘I cried/ am crying’
- b. *Hay*      *i*  
1SG.cry      3SG  
‘I cried/ am crying over him/her’ (for someone who is dead)



- c. *Hay ve i*  
 1SG.cry for 3SG  
 ‘I cried/ am crying over him/her’ (for someone who is still alive)

#### 7.3.4. Three-place predicate clauses

This clause type needs three arguments: subject, object and oblique. The basic constituent structure of the clause is subject-verb-object-oblique. For non-subject arguments, the object always follows the verb and the oblique always follows the object in the form of a prepositional phrase. The three-place predicate clauses in Wooi require the presence of an obligatory preposition for the oblique argument and there is no object alternation.

- (15) *Cong buku ve Jon*  
 ti-ong buku ve Jon  
 3SG-give book for John  
 ‘She gave a book to John’

- (16) *Andi tenatu surat ve tamani na Harui*  
 Andi ti-tanatu surat ve tama-n-i na Harui  
 Andi 3SG-send letter for father-3SG.PSR-SG.PSS LOC Serui  
 ‘Andi sent a letter to his father in Serui’

As the argument structure in the clause is fixed, object-oblique alternation is not allowed in Wooi and so the counterpart of (15) given in (17) is ungrammatical.

- (17) \**Cong Jon buku*  
 ti-ong Jon buku  
 3SG-give John book  
 ‘He gave John a book.’

Like the object arguments described in §7.3.2, OBL arguments can be fronted for pragmatic reasons and the pronominal copy must be used in the original syntactic slot in the basic clause structure. This is the enclitic=*i* that attaches to the preposition *ve* ‘for’ in the following example:

- (18) *Jon ti Eni cong buku ninei vei pa*  
 Jon ti Eni ti-ong buku ning-ne-i ve=i pa  
 John FOC.SG Eni 3SG-givebook here-PRX-SG for=3SG FOC  
 ‘It was John that Eni gave this book to’

Focus constructions are further discussed in chapter 12.

## **7.4. Non-verbal clauses**

There are five types of clauses categorized as non-verbal predicates in Woi: clauses with nominal predicates (§7.4.1), clauses with predicates headed by the possessive marker (§7.4.2), clauses with locative predicates (§7.4.3), clauses with existential predicates (§7.4.4), and comparative clauses (§7.4.5).

Each of these clausal types takes a single non-predicative NP or PP as the SUBJ of the clause. The NPs or PPs are for descriptive convenience called ‘subjects’, as they share common control behaviour with the subjects in verbal clauses.

### **7.4.1. Nominal clauses**

There are two types of nominal clauses in Woi. In the first, two NPs, the subject and the predicate, are marked by a nominal copula in order to express a relationship of identity between two nouns (§7.4.1.1). In the second, two NPs are structured as a nominal focus construction (§7.4.1.2).

#### **7.4.1.1. The copula *ti-* ‘COP’ plus person number marking**

Clauses with the copula have the prototypical features of nominal clauses, but might be used in other types of non-verbal predicates as well (Dryer 2007b: 225). In Woi, copula is only used in the nominal clause. The noun-noun relation is marked by the obligatory copula *ti-* which agrees in person and number and syntactically it is placed at the clause-final position. This is not found elsewhere in non-nominal clauses. The copula in Woi is a type of verb due to certain morpho-syntactic properties, namely person and number marking on the copula and its syntactic function as the head of nominal predicate. However, it is different semantically from a lexical verb, like ‘go’,

‘hit’, etc. Syntactically, a copula is also different from a verb in terms of word order. A nominal predicate has NP-NP-COP word order. Assuming the object and the predicative NP are complements of both a verbal predicate and a copula verb ‘be’, it is clear that verbal clauses and nominal clauses are different in word order: verb final vs. non-verb final complements (cf. Dryer 2007b).

In Wooi, the nominal copula *ti-* ‘COP’ has the following characteristics:

- a. Morphologically, the copula takes suffixes that indicate the person and number features as verbs do.
- b. The inflected copula always agrees with the subject NP and it functions as the head of the nominal predicate clause.
- c. Syntactically, the copula functions to link the subject NP and the predicate NP, and is always placed in the clause-final position of a nominal clause.
- d. Semantically, the copula functions to express equational and inclusional information.

(a) The copula and its paradigm

The complete paradigm of the copula which shows the person and number marking is shown in Table 7.3.

Table 7.3. Paradigm of copula and person-number agreement in Wooi.

<b>Person</b>	<b>Singular</b>	<b>Dual</b>	<b>Plural</b>
1EXC	<i>ti-ya</i>	<i>ti-aru</i>	<i>ti-ama</i>
1INC		<i>ti-taru</i>	<i>ti-tata</i>
2	<i>ti-aw</i>	<i>ti-maru-na</i> <i>ti-maru</i> <i>*maru-na</i>	<i>ti-mia-na</i> <i>ti-mia</i> <i>mia-na</i>
3	<i>ti-i-na</i>	<i>ti-haru-na</i> <i>ti-haru</i> <i>*haru-na</i>	<i>ti-hia-na</i> <i>*ti-hia</i> <i>hia-na</i>

Table 7.3 gives the complete set of the forms of the copula. The forms with (\*) are ungrammatical (though expected). All singular forms, as well as non-singular (dual and plural) first-person forms, only have one possible shape. The other person/number combinations have two forms of the copula. They are not different in meaning so are used in seemingly free variation by native speakers.

(b) The copula and its syntactic position and functions

Syntactically, the copula is always positioned as the clause-final element. There are semantically two types of nominal clause with the nominal copula *ti-* ‘COP’. These are equational clauses and proper inclusion clauses. Equational clauses refer to the equal relation between the first NP which is the head of predicate and the second NP which is the predicate, as exemplified in (19).

- (19) *Wooi rawing nei ne pandu tina*  
 Wooi rawing ne-i ne pandu ti-i-na  
 Wooi Bay PRX-SG POSS.1SG village COP-3SG-3  
 ‘Wooi is my village.’

In (19), *Wooi rawing* ‘Wooi Bay’ and *ne pandu* ‘my village’ are two entities that have an equal referential relation. The head NP *Wooi rawing* ‘Wooi Bay’ functions to provide extra referential information about the predicate NP *ne pandu* ‘my village’.

The same nominal clause structure is also applied to a clause where the subject is a demonstrative pronoun. Thus, the semantic relation between the demonstrative pronoun subject and the predicate still indicates an equational relation. It is also marked by the nominal copula in the clause-final position as in (20) and it is followed by other particles such as negative particle, as in (21).

- (20) *Ninei tasinyami titata*  
 ning-ne-i ta-hinya-m-i ti-tata  
 here-PRX-SG 1PL.INC-mother.NSG.PSR-SG.PSS COP-1PL.INC  
 ‘This is our mother.’

- (21) *Wampai huntamami tiharu va*  
 wang-pa-i hu-tama-m-i ti-haru va  
 there.2-DIST-SG 3DU-father-NSG.PSR-SG.PSS COP-3PL NEG  
 ‘That is not his father’

The proper inclusion clause refers to the syntactic relation in which the head NP is a member of the set of items categorized in the predicate, as illustrated in (22) and (23). They are also equal in relation but the head NP is specified as a member of the inclusive items described by the predicative NP.

(22) *Hiuntaray nine kuru tihiana*  
 hinyontarai ning-ne kuru ti-hia-na  
 person here-PRX[NSG] teacher COP-3PL-3  
 ‘These people are teachers’

(23) *Ya pandita tiya*  
 ya pandita ti-ya  
 1SG pastor COP-1SG  
 ‘I am a pastor.’

One might expect that the word order of the verbal predicate and that of the nominal predicate are the same. However, this is not the case in Woi. This provides evidence against the universal tendency in which word order has to be the same for both verbal predicates and non-verbal (nominal) predicates (see Greenberg 1963, Croft 2003, Comrie 1981, Pustet 2003). This evidence also appears in other languages of the Cenderawasih Bay region, such as Ambai and Biak. In Ambai (Silzer 1983:79), the word order of verbal predicate and nominal predicate are different reflecting those found in Woi. The verbal predicate has SVO word order as in (24).

(24) *Tom-i dan rando*  
 Tom-i d-an rando  
 Tom=SG 3SG-eat banana  
 ‘Tom is eating Banana.’

Silzer (1983:75) introduces a nominal clause in which the copula *di-* functions as a linker between two NPs in a nominal predicate. It occurs in two different positions, in between two NPs (25) or following the two NPs (26). Example (26) reflects the word order of nominal clauses in Woi.

(25) *Ne-ku guru dino Yani*  
 POSS-1SG teacher BE Yan  
 ‘My teacher is Yan.’

- (26) *Yani ne-ku guru dine*  
 Yan POSS-1SG teacher BE  
 ‘Yan is my teacher.’

Although, there is no further description of the grammatical difference between the two constructions, it is mentioned that both are grammatical and common for nominal predicates in Ambai.

In Biak, the word order of the nominal predicate is also different from that of a verbal predicate. The verbal predicate has SVO word order stated by Mofu (2005:124), as in (27).

- (27) *Romawa mkun ya dan fas*  
 Romawa mkun ya d-an fas  
 Child small DET.SG 3SG-eat rice  
 ‘The small child eats rice.’

Mofu (2008: 240-260) also describes nominal clauses as having different word order. There are several copulas, each of which functions differently. They may appear as clitics and also as copular verbs. They are distinguished syntactically. In (28) and (29), two copulas, i.e. *-ri* attaching to the determiner, and *-s-* attaching to the determiner and the pronoun, function as copulas and are placed after the NP.

- (28) *Guru riri*  
 Guru ri-ri  
 Teacher Det.SG-be  
 ‘He/she is a teacher’ (Mofu 2008: 246)

- (29) *Guru risaya*  
 Guru ri-s-aya  
 Teacher Det.SG-be-1SG  
 ‘I am a teacher.’ (Mofu 2008: 247)

The copula is also placed after the NP and the relative clause modifier. The copula takes person marking that agrees with the subject of the nominal predicate as in (30).

- (30) *Snon be-mbraiya irya*  
 Snon be-mbrai-ya i-irya  
 Man REL-young-Det 3SG-be  
 ‘It was the young man.’ (Mofu 2008: 250)

This evidence of the copula and copula verbs in Biak has also been described in Steinhauer (2005) and van den Heuvel (2006) and they reflect similar characteristics to Woi. Further typological analysis for the difference between verbal clauses and nominal clauses is needed in order to see whether the word order differences are an areal feature.

#### 7.4.1.2. Nominal clauses with the contrastive focus marker *vo* ‘FOC.NOM’

To indicate a contrastive subject or a contrastive predicate in a nominal clause, the nominal focus marker *vo* ‘FOC.NOM’ is used. The construction can be achieved by a positive or a negative phrase. This construction is different pragmatically from that described in §7.4.1.1. The focus marker *vo* ‘FOC.NOM’ distinguishes the entity denoted by the SUBJ from all other possible entities to which the predicate could refer, as in (31), and distinguishes all other equational relations described by the predicate, as in (32). This same construction is used whether other possible referents are overtly mentioned or not.

- (31) *Frida vo kuru tina, tehava Eni tina*  
 Frida vo kuru ti-i-na teha=va Eni ti-i-na  
 Frida FOC.NOM teacher COP-3SG-3, NPART=NEG Eni COP-3SG-3  
 ‘It is Frida who is a teacher, not Eni’
- (32) *Frida vo kuru tina tehava suster tina*  
 Frida vo kuru ti-i-na teha=va suster ti-i-na  
 Frida FOC.NOM teacher COP-3SG-3 NPART=NEG nurse COP-3SG-3  
 ‘Frida is a teacher not a nurse’

In this construction, the negative marker *tehava* ‘NPART=NEG’ can be used to contrast the two predicates. The predicate closest to the focused subject has a positive relation toward the subject, while the predicate after the negative marker is the negated predicate.

As the focus marker *vo* ‘FOC.NOM’ is restricted to nominal clauses, it is ungrammatical if such a construction occurs with the verbalizer *ve*-‘VBLZ’, which carries an inchoative meaning, and is attached to the nominal predicate as in (33).

- (33) \**Frida*        *vo*                *vekuru*                *tina*  
 Frida                *vo*                *ve-kuru*                *ti-i-na*  
 Frida                FOC.NOM        [3SG]VBLZ-teacher    COP-3SG-3  
 ‘It is Frida who became a teacher.’

The ungrammaticality also occurs when the focus marker *vo* is used with the verbal predicate with *ve* without a copula.

- (34) \**Frida*        *vo*                *vekuru*  
 Frida                *vo*                *ve-kuru*  
 Frida                FOC.NOM        [3SG]VBLZ-teacher  
 ‘It is Frida who became a teacher.’

More on the focus construction appears in §12.5.

#### 7.4.2. Possessive clauses

There are two ways of expressing possession – indirect and direct constructions – as described in chapter 5. Both these possessive constructions can also occur in non-verbal clauses. The indirect construction consists of a predicate that is headed by an inflected form of the possessive marker *ne* ‘POSS’. An in-depth description of indirect possessive construction is given in §5.3.2. The subject of the clause is expressed by the possessor attaching to the possessive predicate and it can cross-reference the optional NP/pronoun preceding it, as in (35) and (36). A possessive clause is always pragmatically motivated: it is always in a focus construction. The object is always the prominent element so it must be left-dislocated and this results in the focus construction. The original object slot is always unmarked in this construction, which is different from the focus construction in the verbal predicate. More on focus constructions can be found in chapter 12.

- (35) *Angkati*        *vane*                *hia*        *hene*\_\_\_\_        *pa*        *va*  
 angkati                *va-ne*                *hia*        *he-ne*                *pa*        *va*  
 Coconut                NEU-PRX[NSG] 3PL    3PL-POSS                FOC        NEG  
 ‘The coconuts there are not theirs’



- (36) *Sandal*      *veve*   *vepake*      *na*      *ramdempe*      *pa*      *ya*  
sandal      *veve*   *ve-pake*      *na*      *ramdempe*      *pa*      *ya*  
sandal      REL   [2SG]VBLZ-useLOC      yesterday      DIST[NSG]      1SG
- neu* \_\_\_\_      *pa*  
ne-u      pa  
POSS-1SG      FOC
- ‘The sandal that you wore yesterday is mine’

A possessive predicate can be also found within a nominal clause (see §7.4.1). The predicate consists of possessive markers and the possessor, either the direct or indirect possessive types. This possessive predicate always has a focused demonstrative subject, marked by the focus marker *vo*. In (37) and (38), the subject of the predicate is the demonstrative pronoun *ninei* and the predicate is the directly possessed noun, and in (39), the predicate is the indirectly possessed noun.

- (37) *Ninei*      *vo*      *nerai*      *tina*  
ning-ne-i      vo      nerai      ti-i-na  
here-PRX-SG      FOC.NOM      [3SG]uncle      COP-3SG-3  
‘Here is his uncle’
- (38) *Ninei*      *vo*      *amai*      *tina*  
ning-ne-i      vo      amai      ti-i-na  
here-PRX-SG      FOC.NOM      [1SG]uncle      COP-3SG-3  
‘Here is my uncle.’
- (39) *Ninei*      *vo*      *ne*      *manu tina*  
ning-ne-i      vo      ne      manu      ti-i-na  
here-PRX-SG      FOC-NOM      POSS[1SG]      house      COP-3SG-3  
‘Here is my house.’

### 7.4.3. Locative clauses

Locative clauses are clauses that consist of subject, locative-verb predicate and object. There are three locative-verb predicates in Woori. They are *vata* ‘lay down.LOC’, *tura* ‘stand.up.LOC’ and *na* ‘stay’. The following are their grammatical features:

- (i) Morphologically, they behave like a verb which takes person or number marking.

- (ii) Syntactically, the verbs require an object and a locative adverb respectively.
- (iii) Semantically, they are different in meaning in terms of the behaviour of the objects.
- (iv) The locative verbs *vata* and *tura* are only applicable for inanimate objects such as machete, axe, glass, table, etc. Thus, they are always inflected by the third person singular and unmarked for non-singular entity. The locative verb *na* takes a locative object.

#### 7.4.3.1. Locative clauses with *vata* ‘lay down.LOC’

*Vata* ‘lay down.LOC’ is the locative-verb predicate that requires an inanimate object which lays down on a certain location such as table, chair, floor, etc. The verb only carries a number distinction between singular and non-singular in regard to the subject of the clause. Singular is marked by the third person singular prefix *ti-* and the non-singular is unmarked. There is no person marking on this verb. This is because the verb is only available for inanimate objects and never occurs with human/animate objects, as in (40).

- (40) a. *Havui pi-ti viata meja pai*  
 havui pi-i ti-vata meja pa-i  
 bettel.nut UP-SG 3SG-lay.down.LOC table DIST-SG  
 ‘The betel nut is laying down on the table’
- b. *Havui pe vata meja pai*  
 havui pe vata meja pa-i  
 betel.nut UP[NSG] [NSG]lay.down.LOC table DIST-SG  
 ‘The betel nuts are laying down on the table’

In locative predicates such as (40), the verb *vata* ‘lay down.LOC’ is only followed by an object NP that binds semantically to the verb. In other constructions, the predicate head *vata* ‘lay down.LOC’ is followed by a PP headed by the locative preposition *na* ‘LOC’ and locative nominal as a part of the predicate, as in (41).

- (41) *Havui piti viata na meja pai*  
 havui pi-i ti-vata na meja pa-i  
 betel.nut UP-SG 3SG-lay.down.LOC LOC table DIST-SG  
 ‘The betel nut is laying down on the table.’

Semantically, there is no difference in meaning between (40a) and (41). Both express the location of *havui* ‘betel nut’, which is on the table. The specific locative NP or PP is explicit and cannot be deleted from the sentence. To do so is ungrammatical in Woi, as in (42).

- (42) \**Havui piti viata*  
 Havui pi-i ti-vata  
 Betel.nut UP-SG 3SG-lay.down.LOC  
 ‘The betel nut is laying down.’

When describing more specific locations with a prepositional phrase, locative adverbials such as *vavo* ‘above’, *vava* ‘below’, *repong* ‘in front of’, *repyu* ‘back’, and *raro* ‘inside’ are used in the construction and they are always placed clause-finally as in (43) and (44).

- (43) *Havui pi-ti viata na meja pai vavo*  
 havui pi-i ti-vata na meja pa-i vavo  
 betel.nut UP-SG 3SG-lay.down.LOC LOC table DIST-SG on  
 ‘The betel nut is on the table’

- (44) *Ne hasung viata na tas rarong*  
 ne hasung ti-vata na tas rarong  
 POSS[1SG] cloth 3SG-lay.down.LOC LOC bag inside  
 ‘My cloth is inside the bag’

The locative adverbials such as *vava* ‘under’ and *vavo* ‘on the top of’ can be used without a preposition as occurred in (40). Examples (45) and (46) illustrate this usage.

- (45) *Nemu tas pai viata meja*  
 ne-mu tas pa-i ti-vata meja  
 POSS-2SG.PSR bag DIST-SG 3SG-lay.down.LOC table
- yampai vava*  
 yang-pa-i vava  
 there.1-DIST-SG under  
 ‘Your bag is there under the table’

- (46) *Buku pe madupi ai vata meja*  
 buku pe madupi ai vata meja  
 book EXIST many FOC.NSG [NSG]lay.down.LOC table
- vane vavo*  
 va-ne vavo  
 NEU-PRX[NSG] on  
 ‘There are many books on these tables’

#### 7.4.3.2. Locative clauses with *tura* ‘stand up.LOC’

*Tura* ‘stand up.LOC’ also takes the same construction as that of *vata*. It is used as the head of locative predicate in which the predicate consists of an NP (47) or a PP (48). Semantically, it is used to indicate an inanimate object that is standing or sitting on a certain location. The presence of locative adverbials is also acceptable in this construction. The person marking on the verb *tura* just indicates singular vs. non-singular distinction, in which the singular is marked with *ti-* ‘3SG’ and the non-singular is unmarked.

- (47) *Anang cura dapur vane*  
 anang ti-tura dapur va-ne  
 sago 3SG-stand.up.LOC kitchen that-PRX[NSG]  
 ‘Sago (one sack) is (in standing position) in the kitchen’

- (48) *Maria pe madupi ai tura na*  
 maria pe madupi ai tura na  
 water EXIST[NSG] much FOC.NSG [NSG]stand.up.LOC LOC

- drem pai rarong*  
 drem pa-i rarong  
 tank DIST-SG inside  
 ‘There is much water inside the standing water tank.’

#### 7.4.3.3. Locative clause with *na* ‘stay’

*Na* ‘stay’ can function as head of a locative predicate. As a predicate it agrees with the subject in terms of person and number marking. The locative verb *na* ‘stay’ is only applicable for animate/human NPs, referring to a location being inhabited or as a settlement of animate/human being. Thus, it always refers to permanent settlements such as houses, villages, towns or places like schools, churches, etc, as in (49) and (50).

- (49) *Tamani*                      *nya*                      *Jayapura*  
tama-n-i                      ti-na                      Jayapura  
father-3SG.PSR-SG.PSS 3SG-stay                      Jayapura  
‘His father is in Jayapura’
- (50) *Agus hena*                      *Natabuy*                      *na*                      *ramdempe*  
Agus he-na                      Natabui                      na                      ramdempe  
Agus 3PL-stay                      Natabuy                      LOC                      yesterday  
‘Agus and associates were in Natabuy yesterday’

The use of *na* ‘stay’ and *na* ‘LOC’ in a sentence is allowed as in (51a). Otherwise, only the verb *na* ‘stay’ is used, as in (51b).

- (51) a.     *Hena*                      *na*                      *skola*  
he-na                      na                      skola  
3PL-stay                      LOC                      school  
‘They live at the school location’
- b.     *Hena*                      *skola*  
he-na                      skola  
3PL-stay                      school  
‘They are at school.’

In (51) a, the verb *na* and the preposition *na* are used together and express the predicate showing a permanent location of residency. If the predicate shows a temporary location, it will just have the verb *na*, as in (51b).

#### 7.4.3.4. Variation and frequency in use of the preposition *na* ‘LOC’ and adverbials

Most native speakers of Woori prefer to construct sentences as in (40) and (45), without the preposition *na*, rather than like those in (41) and (44) where the preposition *na* is included, although both are acceptable. The preference is observable in the case of *vata* ‘lay.down.LOC’ and *tura* ‘stand.up.LOC’. These locative verbs appear to have location as part of their meaning. Thus, the preposition *na* ‘LOC’ is in a way redundant, and is therefore optional. This is also true with the use of adverbials. In some cases, the use of locative adverbs is optional because of the semantic information contributed by the predicate NP, as shown below in (52).

- (52) a. *Ne hasung viata tas pai*  
 ne hasung ti-vata tas pa-i  
 [1SG.PSR]POSS cloth 3SG-lay.down.LOC bag DIST-SG  
 ‘My cloth is inside that bag.’
- b. *Ne hasung viata na tas pai*  
 ne hasung ti-vata na tas pa-i  
 [1SG.PSR]POSS cloth 3SG-lay.down.LOC LOC bag DIST-SG  
 ‘My cloth is inside that bag.’
- c. *Ne hasung viata (na) tas*  
 ne hasung ti-vata na tas  
 [1SG.PSR]POSS cloth 3SG-lay.down.LOC LOC bag
- (rarom) pai*  
 rarong pa-i  
 insideDIST-SG  
 ‘My cloth is inside that bag.’

Various constructions also occur when locative adverbs are used in locative clauses. There are two possible constructions that use adverbs. First, adverbs may be placed in the clause-final position as in (53a), providing the meaning of the NP is located somewhere on the top of the table. Second, adverbials can be restricted to just modify an NP, as in (53b), giving the specific location, which is on the top of the table.

- (53) a. *Havui piti viata na meja pai vavo*  
 havui pi-i ti-vata na meja pa-i vavo  
 betel.nut UP-SG 3SG-stand.up.LOC LOC table DIST-SG on  
 ‘The betel nut is somewhere on the top of the table.’
- b. *Havui piti viata na meja vavom pai*  
 havui pi-i ti-vata na meja vavo pa-i  
 betel.nut UP-SG 3SG-stand.up.LOC LOC table on DIST-SG  
 ‘The betel nut is on top of the table.’

#### 7.4.4. Existential Clauses

Existential constructions predicate the existence of some entity, usually in some specified location (Payne 1997). Payne (1997: 112) provides some typological characteristics of existential clauses as follows:

- They require a noun as a predicate and they share features of predicate nominal, e.g., the copular morpheme in English, although in some languages, a copula does not exist;
- They require a locational or temporal adjunct in the clause;
- They serve a presentative function, i.e., to introduce participants onto the discourse stage;
- They may apply special negation strategies in some languages;
- They often have extended functions, such as impersonal or circumstantial voice constructions.

In Woi, there are two types of existential clause, depending on the types of adjuncts in the predicate position, and they show different morphological and syntactic behaviour. They are the *e* and *pe* existential constructions. For simplicity, the former is called type 1 existential and the latter is type 2 existential. Their syntactic properties are illustrated in Table 7.4.

Table 7.4. Syntactic structures of existential clauses in Woi.

Type 1	EXIST + SUBJ + VERB
Type 2	SUBJ + EXIST VERB + LOC. PP

Type 1 and type 2 differ in the following grammatical properties:

- (i) Existential morpheme/words are different in their word categories and in their syntactic positions. Type 1 requires the existential morpheme *e* in clause-initial position, whereas, type 2 requires the verbal existential *pe* in medial verb position.
- (ii) Type 1 requires a verb as its predicate, whereas type 2 requires a locative prepositional phrase following the predicate.
- (iii) Morphologically, the *e* existential does not carry person and number marking, whereas, type 2, the *pe* existential, requires person/number marking, represented

by the third person singular for a singular subject entity and the third person plural for a non-singular subject entity.

In (54) and (55), type 1, the existential morpheme *e*, is illustrated. The person and number agreement occurs between the subject and the verbal predicate.

(54) *E hanti ria ma ne*  
 e anti ti-ra ma ne  
 EXIST 3SG.FOC 3SG-go hither PRX[NSG]  
 ‘There is someone coming.’

(55) *E hia henda ma ne*  
 e hia he-t-ra ma ne  
 EXIST 3PL 3PL-PL-go hither PRX[NSG]  
 ‘There are people coming.’

It is ungrammatical to use the existential morpheme *e* placed in other positions in the clause, such as in the clause-medial position, as in (56).

(56) \**anti e ria ma ne*  
 anti e ti-ra ma ne  
 3SG EXIST 3SG-go hither PRX[NSG]  
 ‘There is someone coming.’

The existential type 1 can be either negated or take a question particle. *Va* ‘NEG’ and *e* ‘Q’ are always placed clause-finally, as in (57) and (58).

(57) *E (\*hia) hendama va*  
 E hia he-t-ra=ma va  
 EXIST 3PL 3PL-PL-go-hither NEG  
 ‘There are not they (people) coming’

(58) *Ei riama e*  
 e=i ti-ra=ma e  
 EXIST=SG 3SG-go=hither Q  
 ‘Is there someone coming?’

Unlike the declarative sentence as in (55), the presence of the third person free pronoun *hia* ‘3PL’ in the negative and interrogative sentences is not allowed as in (57). Only a subject marker on the verb is allowed. For the singular form, there is an enclitic =*i* ‘SG’ attaching to the existential particle, which is not present in the declarative counterpart. The enclitic =*i* ‘SG’ is obligatory in a negative and an interrogative sentence.



Type 2 existential requires *pe* 'EXIST' to function as the predicate of the clause. It shows the properties of a verb by taking person and number marking, which co-references with the subject NP, as exemplified in (59) and (60). The person and number marking on the existential and the subject NP show a syntactic agreement in terms of person and number features. Generally, the person and number marking on the existential supply such grammatical information to the subject NP.

(59) *Muang pehi na yampa*  
 muang pe-i na yang-pa  
 man EXIST-SG LOC there.1-DIST[NSG]  
 'There is a man over there.'

(60) *Muang pehahia na yampa*  
 muang pe=eha=hia na yang-pa  
 man EXIST=other=3PL LOC there.1-DIST[NSG]  
 'There are (some) men over there.'

When the existential verb does not take person and number marking, it is considered ungrammatical as in (61). It is also ungrammatical if the template of type 2 is structured as in type 1, as in (62), and both type 1 and type 2 cannot be used together in a construction, as in (63).

(61) \**Muang pe na yampa*  
 muang pe na yang-pa  
 man EXIST LOC there.1-DIST[NSG]  
 'There is a man over there.'

(62) \**Pe muang na yampa*  
 pe muang na yang-pa  
 EXIST man LOC there.1-DIST[NSG]  
 'There is a man over there.'

(63) \**E muang pehi na yampa*  
 e muang pe-i na yang-pa  
 EXIST man EXIST-SG LOC there.1-DIST[NSG]  
 'There is a man over there.'

With an animate subject, the existential type 2 is used, as in (64) and (65). It is not allowed to use the existential type 1.

- (64) *Asurang pehanti ria wampa*  
 Asurang pe=anti ti-ra wang-pa  
 Pig EXIST=3SG.FOC 3SG-go there.2-DIST[NSG]  
 ‘There is a pig walking there.’
- (65) *Asurang pehia henda wampa*  
 Asurang pe=hia he-t-ra wang-pa  
 Pig EXIST=3PL 3PL-PL-go there.2-DIST[NSG]  
 ‘There are pigs walking there.’

This existential type 2 can be negated or take a question particle by having both particles in the clause-final position, as in (66) and (67).

- (66) *Muang pehi na yampa va*  
 muang pe=i na yang-pa va  
 man EXIST=SG LOC there.1-DIST[NSG] NEG  
 ‘There is not a man there.’
- (67) *Muang pehahia na yampa e*  
 muang pe=eha=hia LOC yang-pa e  
 man EXIST=other=3PL LOC there.1-DIST[NSG] Q  
 ‘Are there any men there?’

The existential verb *pe* can take a numeral complement as in (68) and (69). In this construction, the existential verb *pe* also takes person and number marking. The verb will take unmarked person/number marking for non-singular subject agreement (68) and the marker *-i* for singular subject agreement (69).

- (68) *Agus nye buku pe muana*  
 Agus ne-i buku pe muana  
 Agus POSS-3SG.PSR book EXIST[NSG] four  
 ‘Agus’ books are four.’
- (69) *Ne manu pe-i korisi*  
 POSS[1SG.PSR] house EXIST-SG one  
 ‘My house is one.’

If the subject is animate/human, the existential verb *pe* will take the bound pronouns that agree with the subject, as in (70) and (71).

- (70) *Hesumom pehia ding*  
 he-humo-m pe-hia ding  
 3PL.PSR-aunt-NSG.PSR[NSG.PSS] EXIST-3PL five  
 ‘My aunts are five.’
- (71) *Hene asurang pehia toru*  
 he-ne asurang pe-hia toru  
 3PL.PSR-POSS pig EXIST-3PL three  
 ‘Their pigs are three.’

### 7.4.5. Comparative clauses

Comparative constructions may occur when two or more items or predicates are compared. Semantically, comparative constructions that involve the quality of similarity and difference are used to assess the items or predicates being compared (Payne 1997: 88). Following Payne’s (1997: 89) elements of comparative constructions, a comparative construction consists of the **standard**, the item being compared to the subject (i.e. entity or event under discussion); the **marker**, any morpho-syntactic item used as a comparative marker; and the **quality**, the condition by which the subject and the standard are compared.

In Woi, the marker *hieha* ‘COMPR’ is used to compare the subject and the standard. In (72), two clauses are given to show the difference between a declarative clause (a) and a comparative clause (b).

- (72) a.      *Tamani*                      *teriai*  
           tama-n-i                      ti-tariai  
           father-3SG.PSR-SG.PSS    3SG-tall  
           ‘His father is tall.’
- b.            SUBJECT                                      QUALITY MARKER      STANDARD  
           *Tamai*                      (vo) *teriai*      *hieha*      *tamani*  
           tama-i                      vo      ti-tariai      hieha      tama-n-i  
           [1SG.PSR]father-SG.PSS FOC    3SG-tall      COMPR      father-3SG.PSR-SG.PSS  
           ‘It is my father that is taller than his father.’

The construction in (72) b shows that the subject precedes the predicate or the quality of comparison. The marker follows the quality and precedes the standard. This is the basic comparative structure in Woi. Note that the contrastive focus particle is in brackets (...) indicating that it is optional. It is used when the subject is contrasted to the standard about their qualities. This is also discussed in §12.5.

To describe the similarity, the comparative marker *parari* ‘similar’ is used to compare the quality of the subject and the standard as in (73).

- (73) *Jon teriai parari Andi*  
 Jon ti-tariai parari Andi  
 John 3SG-tall similar Andi  
 ‘John is as tall as Andi.’

To express superlative comparison, the marker *hieha* and the superlative marker *na* ‘SUP’ are used. The use of superlative construction must be applied in the verbal focus construction, as in (74) and (75). As the superlative construction shows more contrast in meaning, it must be structured in contrastive focus.

- (74) *Jen ti teriai hiehara na ama pa*  
 Jen ti ti-tariai hieha na ama pa  
 Jean SG.FOC 3SG-tall COMPR SUP 1PL.EXC FOC  
 ‘It is Jean who is tallest than us.’

- (75) *Na ama mara Jen ti teriai hieha ama pa*  
 na ama mara Jen ti ti-tariai hieha ama pa  
 SUP 1PL.EXC that Jean SG.FOC 3SG-tall COMPR 1PL.EXC FOC  
 ‘Out of all of us, Jean is the tallest.’

## 7.5. Peripheral constituents in the clause

Peripheral constituents are outside the basic argument-predicate structure in the clause in Wooias summarized in Figure 7.1 below. Peripheral constituents are grammatically adjuncts.

(PERI)	EXTENDED	(PERI)	BASIC CLAUSE			PERIPHERY (PERI)		
(NP) (PERI <sub>2</sub> )	NP FOC, TOP	(NP) (PERI <sub>2</sub> )	PRO-V	NP	PP	(PP)	(PP)	(NEG)/ (FOC)/ (PERF)/ (IMPERV)
			ARG <sub>1</sub> - PRED	ARG <sub>2</sub>	ARG <sub>3</sub>			
			SUBJ	OBJ	OBL	ADJ	ADJ	
						INS LOC	TEMP	

Figure 7.1. Positions of peripheral constituents in the clause

In Figure 7.1, locative and instrumental peripherals are placed after the PP oblique arguments. They are fixed in this order syntactically. Temporal peripherals come after the locative and/or instrumental peripheral.

Periphery element 2 (PERI2) is the most mobile element. It can be placed sentence finally, initially or immediately before the predicate. In (76) and (77), PERI2 is placed sentence-finally and sentence-initially.

(76) *Henjuko aru na ramdempe*  
 he-t-ruko aru na ramdempe  
 3PL-PL-chase 1DU.EXC LOC yesterday  
 ‘They chased us two yesterday.’

(77) *Ramdempe henjuko aru*  
 ramdempe he-t-ruko aru  
 yesterday 3PL-PL-chase 1DU.EXC  
 ‘Yesterday, they chased us two.’

Note that the verbal-final adjunct in PERI2 position must be prepositionally marked. Hence, it is ungrammatical if the locative preposition *na* ‘LOC’ is deleted, as in (78), or the preposition is used in the preverbal adverbial, as in (79).

(78) \**Henjuko aru ramdempe*  
 he-t-ruko aru ramdempe  
 3PL-PL-chase 1DU.EXC yesterday  
 ‘They chased us two yesterday.’

(79) \**Na ramdempe henjuko aru*  
 na ramdempe he-t-ruko aru  
 LOC yesterday 3PL-PL-chase 1DU.EXC  
 ‘Yesterday, they chased us two.’

When a topicalized subject is added in pre-verbal position, the temporal peripheral can either follow it as in (80a) and or precede it as in (80b). The topicalized subject can be in the form of a pronoun or a full noun phrase.

(80) a. *Mia ramdempe menda ho Agus nye manu e*  
 mia ramdempe me-t-ra ho Agus ne-i manu e  
 2PL yesterday 2PL-PL-go LOC.REAL August POSS-3SG.PSR house Q  
 ‘Did you go to Agus’ house yesterday?’

b. *Ramdempe hinyuntaray vanei ria ho Jayapura*  
 ramdempe hinyuntaray va-ne-i ti-ra ho Jayapura  
 yesterday person NEU-PRX-SG 3SG-go DIR.REAL Jayapura  
 ‘The person has already gone to Jayapura yesterday.’

## 7.6. Negative clauses

Negative clauses are clauses that consist of negative components (words/morpheme) that function to negate declarative clauses (see Miestamo 2005, 2007). A language might have a standard way of negating a declarative clause, which is called ‘standard negation’ (Miestamo 2005). This standard negation can be used for any kinds of sentences. In terms of its formal structure, standard negation has two types: symmetric and asymmetric negation. Symmetric negation refers to the similar structure of a negative clause and that of declarative clause without any structural change, except for the presence of the negative morpheme/particle/word. Asymmetric negation refers to structural change between a negative clause and a declarative clause in various ways (Miestamo 2005: 52).

This section describes standard negation in Woi and its functional properties, and also other kinds of negative clauses found in Woi. Woi only has symmetric negation, in which several negative particles/words are used.

### 7.6.1. Standard negation *va* ‘NEG’

The negator *va* ‘NEG’ is the standard negator found in Woi. It is used to negate a declarative clause in a wide range of clause types, namely verbal, nominal, locative, possessive, and existential clauses. Syntactically, the negative particle *va* ‘NEG’ is always in the clause-final position (see Table 7.1 in §7.2) and it functions to negate the whole clause, as exemplified in (81-85).

Verbal clause

- (81) [*Yam pa na intene va*  
y-ang pa na intene va  
1SG-eat rice LOC just.now NEG  
‘I did not eat some rice just now.’

Nominal clause

- (82) [*Ne neta baba nei kuru tina*] **va**  
 ne neta baba ne-i kuru ti-i-na va  
 POSS[1SG.PSR] sibling big PRX-SG teacher COP-3SG-3 NEG  
 ‘My big sibling is not a teacher.’

Locative clause

- (83) [*Nya wampa*] **va**  
 ti-na wang-pa va  
 3SG-stay there.2-DIST[NSG] NEG  
 ‘He is not there.’

Possessive clause

- (84) [*Ama mane asurang yampai pa*] **va**  
 ama ma-ne asurang yang-pa-i pa va  
 1PL.EXC 1PL.EXC.PSR-POSS pig there.1-DIST-SG FOC NEG  
 ‘Our pig is not that one.’

Existential clause

- (85) [*Ei ria ho Natavuy*] **va**  
 e-i ti-ra ho Natabui va  
 EXIST-SG 3SG-go DIR.REAL Natabuy NEG  
 ‘There is no one going to Natabuy’

The negative particle *va* ‘NEG’ is a clausal negator. It functions to negate a clause. Thus, when a sentence consists of two clauses, the one which is negative is marked by *va* ‘NEG’ at the end of the clause, as in (86) and (87).

- (86) [[*Kaitera vavo vebisa yang*] **va**],  
 kaitera vaw=vo ve-bisa y-ang va  
 corn NEU=FOC.NOM VBLZ-able 1SG-eat NEG

*taung vaw keto*  
 taung vau keto  
 sago NEU[NSG] ability  
 ‘It is corn that I cannot eat, but for sago, I can.’

- (87) *Ronal herio ay ve moma vavaw mara*  
 Ronal ti-hario ai ve moma vavau mara  
 Ronald 3SG-carry wood REL small NEU:RED that

[*vetanda vekuat*] **va**  
 ve-tanda ve-kuat va  
 VBLZ-sign VBLZ-strong NEG  
 ‘Ronald is carrying small amount of wood which means he is not strong’

The standard negation *va* ‘NEG’ can also contribute to the imperfective meaning. To do so, the negative particle *va* attaches to the imperfective morpheme *mi* ‘IMPERV’ to form an imperfective particle *vami* ‘not yet.’ It expresses imperfective aspect on the whole proposition. This means that an expected action has not been realized yet in contrast to one’s presupposition. Syntactically, it is also a clause-final particle, as in (88) and (89).

(88) *Henda Harui vami*  
 he-t-ra Harui va=mi  
 3PL-PL-go Serui NEG=IMPERV  
 ‘They have not gone to Serui yet.’

(89) *Hetoyo henda vami*  
 he-t-oyo he-t-ra va=mi  
 3PL-PL-say 3PL-PL-go NEG=IMPERV  
 ‘They said they have not left yet.’

The standard negation *va* ‘NEG’ may also attach to the functional particle *teha* ‘NPART’ to form the negative word in Wooi is *tehava* ‘NPART=NEG’. It is also used to negate all types of clauses as the standard negation particle *va* ‘NEG’ does. It is also a clause-final particle and it functions to negate a clause, rather than the whole sentence, as in (90), (91) and (92).

(90) *Pa ninei ve aw tehava*  
 pa ning-ne-i ve au teha=va  
 rice here-PRX-SG for 2SG NPART=NEG  
 ‘The rice is not for you.’

(91) *Frida vo kuru tina tehava suster tina*  
 Frida vo kuru ti-i-na teha=va suster ti-i-na  
 Frida FOC.NOM teacher COP-3SG-3 NPART=NEG nurse COP-3SG-3  
 ‘Frida is not a teacher. She is a nurse.’

(92) *Ram pa ho angkati tehava*  
 rang pa ho angkati teha=va  
 cook rice INS coconut NPART=NEG  
 ‘I did not cook rice with coconut (milk).’

The negative word *tehava* ‘NPART=NEG’ can be used interchangeably with the standard negation *va* ‘NEG’. Thus, sentences in (90), (91) and (92) are allowed to replace *tehava* with the standard negation *va* and the sentences are still acceptable.



### 7.6.2. Clausal negation with *pivay* ‘not’

Another clausal negator is the negative word *pivay* ‘not’. This is a lexical negator that can stand independently for negating a whole proposition which is considered to be not true. Clauses can also be negated with the negator *pivay* ‘not’. It is an independent negator that can stand alone as a predicate in order to negate the whole proposition. It may be used in negating the proposition being questioned as an independent word in (93b) or with a declarative statement in (93c).

- (93) a. *Agus campi to ne*  
 Agus ti-ang=pi to e  
 Agus 3SG-eat=thing PERF Q  
 ‘Has Agus eaten already?’
- b. *Pivay.*  
*pivai*  
 ‘Not.’
- c. *Pivay. Agus campi vami*  
*pivai. Agus ti-ang=pi va=mi*  
 Not. Agus 3SG-eat=thing NEG=IMPERV  
 ‘No, Agus hasn’t eaten anything yet.’

The negative word *pivay* ‘not’ can function as a predicate in an elliptical clause to negate the whole proposition of the clause, as in (94) and (95).

- (94) *Meri ti Jon con doy vei pa.*  
 Meri ti Jon ti-ong doi ve=i pa  
 Mary FOC.SG John 3SG-give money for=3SG FOC

*Aknes vo pivay*  
 Aknes vo pivai  
 Agnes FOC.NOM not  
 ‘It is Mary that John gave some money to. Not Agnes.’

- (95) *Ehia hembetau mae ehia pivay*  
 e=hia he-t-ve-tau mae e=hia pivai  
 EXIST=3PL 3PL-PL-VBLZ-know but EXIST=3PL not  
 ‘There are people who know (it) but there are some who don’t.’

The negator *pivay* ‘not’ functions as the predicate in the elliptical clause *Aknes vo pivay* in (94). In (95), *pivay* just negates the second clause after the conjunction *mae*.

When a proposition is expressed with affirmative and negative possibilities, the negator *pivay* ‘not’ is used to denote such possibilities, as in (96) and (97).

(96) *Rebiasa henda ma ete pivay pe*  
 rebiasa he-t-ra ma ete pivai pe  
 not.yet.know 3PL-PL-go hither or not EXIST  
 ‘He does not know if they come or not.’

(97) *Yo rua ma ete pivay ete*  
 y-o bu-ra ma ete pivai ete  
 1SG-want 2SG-go hither or not or  
 ‘I don’t care if you come or not.’

*Pivay* ‘not’ is also used in probabilitive questions and tag questions. Probabilitive questions are ones that offer possibilities with an expected answer of either ‘yes’ or ‘no’. In Wooi, the question contains positive and negative probability in the construction in which *pivay* and the question particle *e* form the clause after the conjunction *ete* ‘or’. They function to direct the probability described in the whole proposition, as in (98) and (99).

(98) *Hene angkati pa paw ete pivay e*  
 he-ne angkati pa pau ete pivai e  
 3PL.PSR-POSS coconut DIST.NSG many or not Q  
 ‘Do they have lots of coconuts or not?’

(99) *Hetutan i co vevu pei na*  
 he-t-utang i ti-o ti-vavu pe-i nari  
 3PL-PL-ask 3SG 3SG-want 3SG-return UP-SG again

*nete pivay ray e*  
 ete pivai rai e  
 or not still Q  
 ‘They asked him if does he want to go home or not yet?’

## 7.7. Non-declarative clauses

### 7.7.1. Imperatives

Imperatives are clauses that function to issue commands, directives and requests. Imperatives in Wooi do not have any overt syntactic marker to indicate the clause as an imperative. Rather, they are marked by rising intonation across the whole utterance.

To express an imperative in the positive mode, the verb stands alone without any NP or independent pronoun encoding the addressee. However, the addressee is overtly marked by the person marker on the verb, as in (100) and (101).

(100) *Buampi!*  
 bu-ang=pi  
 2SG-eat=thing  
 'Eat!'

(101) *Rua*            *to*        *wanda!*  
 bu-ra                to        wang=ra  
 2SG-go              to        there.2=thither  
 'Go there!'

When referring to a particular person, the addressee's name can be mentioned, as in (102).

(102) *Epi, kuo*            *humbe*        *to*        *wanda*  
 Epi    bu-ko                humbe        to        wang=ra  
 Epi,    2SG-bring            machete     to        there.2=thither  
 'Epi, bring the machete over there!'

In (102), the NP *Epi* and the imperative clause are separate intonation units, indicated by a pause and a pitch reset between them. They occupy two independent intonation units, high pitch in the name and high to low pitch in the clause. Pragmatically, *Epi* is the topicalized subject that agrees with the person marker on the verb. This is also true when an independent pronoun appears in an imperative clause, as in (103).

(103) *Mia, mengko*        *pi*        *to*        *nima*  
 Mia,    me-t-ko                pi        to        ning=ma  
 2PL,    2PL-PL-bring        thing    to        here=hither  
 'You, bring that thing over here!'

To avoid the direct imperative mode as illustrated in sentences (100-103), one way of expressing the same meaning is through a less direct imperative mode with the perfective particle *to*, which is always in clause-final position, as in (104).

(104) *Metena*        *to!*  
 me-t-ena            to  
 2PL-PL-sleep      PERF  
 'Sleep already!'

The imperative construction can be used when the addressed group includes the speaker, which may show hortative mode, as in (105).

- (105) *Tampo!*  
 ta-t-po  
 1PL.INC-PL-finish  
 ‘Let us finish (it).’

The perfective particle *to* ‘PERF’ can be also used to express permission or intivation for the addressee to do something in a more polite way. The particle is always in clause-final position (as seen in Table 7.1).

- (106) *Rua ma buampi to!*  
 bu-ra ma bu-ang=pi to  
 2SG-go hither 2SG-eat=thing PERF  
 ‘Please, come and eat!’

- (107) *Kovio ve yaw to!*  
 bu-kavio ve yau to  
 2SG-speak for 1SG PERF  
 ‘Speak to me, please!’

The particle *to* ‘PERF’ may also indicate a request pragmatically. The construction in (108) is similar to those in (106) and (107). However, this construction refers to an addressee that includes the first person, showing hortative mode.

- (108) *Tanda to yampa to!*  
 ta-t.ra to yang-pa to  
 1PL.INC-PL.go to there.1-DIST[NSG] PERF  
 ‘Let’s go there, please!’

### 7.7.2. Prohibitives

To construct a negative imperative, or a prohibitive, two kinds of structures are used in Woor. The first structure uses the compositional prohibitive *jaka...pe* ‘PROH...PROH’, as in (109).

- (109) *Jaka hoyo ma pe ...*  
 jaka bu-hayo ma pe  
 PROH 2SG-look hither PROH  
 ‘Don’t lookover here!’ [space\_game1\_Jk\_JEV]

The second structure is constructed with the two-part negative imperative *remuho...pe* ‘PROH ... PROH’, as in (110).

(110)	<i>Remuho</i>	<i>ruobang</i>	<i>aim</i>	<i>pe!</i>
	remuho	bu-robang	ai	pe
	PROH	2SG-cut	tree	PROH
	'Don't cut the tree!'			

Both (109) and (110) indicate that the state of affairs expressed between the preverbal prohibitive marker *jaka* 'PROH' or *remuho* 'PROH' and the particle *pe* 'PROH' is negated. It is unclear what the semantic and/or pragmatic differences between the two constructions are.

### 7.7.3. Interrogatives

#### 7.7.3.1. Polar questions

The term 'polar question' refers to what are often called 'yes/no questions', namely interrogative clauses for which the expected answer is either 'yes' or 'no.' Polar questions in Woori are syntactically marked by the question particle *e* 'Q'. The particle is always in clause-final position in simple polar questions. However, different types of polar questions do show variants of this structure, as described below.

The question particle *e* 'Q' is used in two types of polar questions: simple polar questions (§7.7.3.1.1), and alternative questions (§7.7.3.1.2).

##### 7.7.3.1.1. Simple Polar Questions

Simple polar questions are questions that simply need the answer 'yes' or 'no'. The questions are always marked by the question particle *e* 'Q' occurring in sentence-final position. This polar question structure is found regardless of the type of the clause. This is illustrated below (111-115) with verbal, nominal, existential and possessive clauses, where for each example the sentence under (a) is the question, and possible responses are given under (b) and (c).

Verbal clauses

- (111) a. *Cawa e*  
 ti-tawa e  
 3SG-fall Q  
 ‘Did he/she fall?’
- b. *Topeina. (Cawa.)*  
 topeina ti-tawa  
 Yes. 3SG-fall  
 ‘Yes, he/she fell.’
- c. *Pivay. (Cawa va.)*  
 pivai ti-tawa va  
 Not. 3SG-fall NEG  
 ‘No, he/she did not fall.’
- (112) a. *Katekatu mara rua ma e*  
 katekatu mara bu-ra ma e  
 later that 2SG-go hither Q  
 ‘Will you come later?’
- b. *Topeina. (Katekatu mara ra ma.)*  
 topeina Katekatu mara ra ma  
 Yes. later that [1SG]go hither  
 ‘Yes. I am going later.’
- c. *Pivay. (Katekatu mara ra ma va.)*  
 pivai katekatu mara ra ma va  
 Not. later that [1SG]go hither NEG  
 ‘No. I will not go later.’

Nominal clauses

- (113) a. *Yan tina e*  
 Yan ti-i-na e  
 Yan COP-3SG-3 Q  
 ‘Is that Yan?’
- b. *Topeina. (Yan tina to.)*  
 topeina Yan ti-i-na to  
 Yes Yan COP-3SG-3 PERF  
 ‘Yes, it is Yan!’
- c. *Pivay. (Yan tina va.)*  
 pivai Yan ti-i-na va  
 Not Yan COP-3SG-3 NEG  
 ‘No, it is not Yan.’

## Existential clauses

- (114) a. *Roveang pe eha e*  
roveang pe eha e  
food EXIST other Q  
‘Is there any food?’
- b. *Topeina. (Roveang pe eha yampa.)*  
topeina roveang pe eha yang-pa  
Yes. Food EXIST[NSG] other there.1-DIST[NSG]  
‘Yes, there is some food there.’
- c. *Pivay. (Roveang pe eha yampa va.)*  
pivai roveang pe eha yang-pa va  
Not. Food EXIST[NSG] other there.1-DIST[NSG] NEG  
‘No. There is no food there.’

## Possessive clauses

- (115) a. *Pi ninei aw nemui pa ne*  
pi ning-ne-i au ne-mu=i pa e  
thing here-PRX-SG 2SG POSS-2SG=3SG FOC Q  
‘Is this thing yours?’
- b. *Topeina. (Pi ninei ya neu pa.)*  
topeina pi ning-ne-i ya ne=u pa  
Yes thing here-PRX-SG 1SG POSS[1SG]=3SGFOC  
‘Yes, this thing is mine.’
- c. *Pivay. (Pi ninei ya nei pa va.)*  
pivai pi ning-ne-i ya ne=i pa va  
Not thing here-PRX-SG 1SG POSS[1SG]=3SGFOC NEG  
‘No, this thing is not mine.’

Regarding the possible responses to questions under (b) and (c), *topeina* ‘yes’ and *pivay* ‘no’ are sufficient as the answer in the response. The response in the brackets (...) is optional and occurs when it is needed.

### 7.7.3.1.2. Alternative Questions

An alternative question is a type of polar question that presents two or more possible answers and presupposes that only one is true. Woi uses the disjunction *ete* *pivai* ‘or not’ to mark alternative questions; and just as with simple polar questions the particle *e* occurs clause-finally. The alternative conjunction *ete* ‘or’ simply conjoins one alternative following by *pivay* ‘not’, as in (116) and (117).

- (116) *Hene nando pe eha ete pivay e*  
 he-ne nando pe eha ete pivai e  
 3PL.PSR-POSS banana EXIST[NSG] other or no Q  
 ‘Do they have bananas or not?’
- (117) *Buampi to ne ete pivay ray e*  
 bu-ang=pi to e ete pivai rai e  
 2SG-eat=thing PERF Q or not still Q  
 ‘Have you eaten or not?’

### 7.7.3.2. Tag Questions

A tag question is a yes/no question consisting of a declarative clause plus a “tag” that requests confirmation or disconfirmation of the declarative clause (Payne 1997: 297). Wooi uses the tag marker *yope* ‘TAG’ to mark a tag question. It is placed in sentence-final position, as in (118).

- (118) *Hetoyo Jon ria Harui tehava, yope?*  
 he-t-oyo Jon ti-ra Harui teha=va yope  
 3PL-PL-say John 3SG-go Serui NPART=NEG TAG  
 ‘They said John did not go to Serui, did they?’

A tag question can be used also in a conversation in which the hearer responds with a tag to a simple polar question given by the speaker, confirming that he/she does not know the proposition questioned, as in (119).

- (119) Speaker: *Jon hiuhi e?*  
 Jon ti-huhi e  
 John 3SG-sick Q  
 ‘Is John sick?’
- Hearer: *Yope?*  
 ‘Isn’t he?’

### 7.7.3.3. Information questions

Information questions, also known as question-word questions, content questions or ‘wh’ questions, are questions that expect a more elaborate response than simply affirmation or disaffirmation (Payne 1997: 299). Wooi has the question words *pito* ‘what’, *mate* ‘who’, *hanani* ‘when’, *nani* ‘where’, and *topino* ‘how’. Question words are in-situ and the polar questions may include the clause-final particle *e* ‘Q’, but



that it is optional. The order in placing the question word represents the argument structure in the basic clause structure described in §7.2.

(120) *Pitoi*            *buo*            *nine?*  
 pito-i            bu-ong            ning-ne  
 what-SG        2SG-make        here-PRX[NSG]  
 ‘What are you doing here?’

(121) *Wa nani randempe buo nine?*  
 wa nani randempe bu-ong ning-ne  
 canoe which yesterday 2SG-make here-PRX[NSG]  
 ‘Which canoe did you make here yesterday?’

Morphologically, the question words *pito* ‘what’ and *mate* ‘who’ show number agreement of which the unmarked form indicates non-singular number and the marked form with the morpheme *-i* indicates the singular number, described in Table 7.5.

Table 7.5. Number marking on question words

QUESTION WORD	NUMBER	
	SINGULAR	NON-SINGULAR
<i>pito</i> ‘what’	<i>pitoi</i> pito-i what-SG	<i>pito</i> what[NSG]
<i>mate</i> ‘who’	<i>matei</i> mate-i who-SG	<i>mate</i> who[NSG]

Semantically, the number marking on the question words is restricted to questions associated with common nouns referring to concrete objects such as humans and things. When questioning location, reason, manner, or time, number marking does not occur. In terms of the argument vs. adjunct distinction in the basic clause structure, these question words relate to arguments in the question sentence. Other question words for asking location, reason, manner and time relate to adjuncts in the question sentence.

In the clausal structure, the following parameters determine the position of the question words in the Woori sentence.

- a. Question words occur in-situ. They may be present from phrasal to discourse levels. On the phrasal level, they function as determiners. On the clausal level, they function as arguments and other elements, and they replace NPs in the pragmatic slot in the discourse level.
- b. The question words *mate* ‘who’ and *pitoi* ‘what’ are in-situ question words. They appear in the position of the element being asked. When referring to the subject in the clause, it is always placed in the pre-verbal position. However, when it refers to the object or the oblique, the question word is in post-verbal position.
- c. Question words referring to things, location, time, and manner are also in-situ question words, placed in the post-verbal position based on the positions of adjuncts being asked.
- d. Question words in b can be placed in the pragmatic slot with the focus particle *ti* or *ai*. This follows the focus construction described in §12.5.

The four parameters will be described separately in each sub-section of the question words: *pito* ‘what’ in §7.7.3.3.1, *mate* ‘who’ in §7.7.3.3.2, *hanani* ‘when’ in §7.7.3.3.3, *nani* ‘where’ in §7.7.3.3.4, *pitoiconā* ‘why’ in §7.7.3.3.5, *topino* ‘how’ in §7.7.3.3.6, and *toni* ‘how many’ in §7.7.3.3.7.

#### **7.7.3.3.1. Question word: *pito* ‘what’**

The question word *pito* ‘what’ is used to ask about non-human entities in subject function. Morphologically, it agrees with the referent in number feature, singular and non-singular. It can be used in verbal and non-verbal clauses.

*Pito* ‘what’ can replace the subject when asking about the subject in an intransitive sentence. To do so, it must be in the focus construction, as in (122), and

cannot be in the simple question without focus construction, as in (123). The focus marker is also part of the NP of the question word.

(122) *Pitoi*            *ti*                    *cawa na*        *wampa*                    *ne*  
 pito-i                ti                    ti-tawa na        wang-pa                e  
 What-SG            FOC.SG            3SG-fall LOC        there.2-DIST[NSG]    Q  
 ‘What fell off there?’

(123) \**Pitoi*            *cawa*                    *wampa*  
 pito-i                ti-tawa                wang-pa  
 What-SG            3SG-fall                there.2-DIST[NSG]  
 ‘What fell off there?’

In the following transitive clauses (124), the question word questions the object and appears in-situ in the object position. In (124a), the transitive clause is the declarative structure where the object is present. In (124b), the clause is in the interrogative structure where object is questioned by the question word *pitoi* ‘what’.

(124) a.        *Con*                *wa*                    *na*        *ramdempe*  
 ti-ong            wa                    na        ramdempe  
 3SG-make        canoe                LOC        yesterday  
 ‘He made a canoe yesterday.’

b.        *Com*                *pitoi*                *na*        *ramdempe*  
 ti-ong            pito-i                na        ramdempe  
 3SG-make        what-SG                LOC        yesterday  
 ‘What did he make yesterday?’

As *pito* ‘what’ is used for inanimate entities, it is impossible to use for asking a question related to an animate oblique argument. Another oblique argument related to location, as discussed in §8.3.3, uses a different question word as described in §7.7.3.3.3.

*Pitoy* can also be used in a non-verbal predicate when it functions as subject of the clause, as in (125).

(125) a.        *Pitoy*                *ti*                    *ninei*  
 pito-i                ti                    ning-ne-i  
 what-SG            FOC.SG            here-PRX-SG  
 ‘What is this?’

b.        *Pitoy*                *ai*                    *nine*  
 pito                ai                    ning-ne  
 what[NSG]        FOC.NSG            here-PRX[NSG]  
 ‘What are these?’

The number marking *-i* ‘SG’ in (125a) and the unmarked non-singular form in (125b) agree with the focus marker and the predicative demonstratives accordingly. The focus marker is part of the NP of the question word.

The question word *pito* may also be used as a modifier within an NP asking about specifications of the head noun, as in (126). *Pitoi* ‘what-SG’ is used here as a modifier question following the noun *tongkat* ‘stick’ in the object position.

- (126) *Sonya ria vepake tongkat<sup>1</sup> pitoi*  
 Sonya ti-ra ve-pake tongkat pito-i  
 Sonya 3SG-go [3SG]VBLZ-use stick what-SG  
 ‘Which stick did Sonya walk with?’

In nominal copula clauses, the question word can question the nominal predicate. Example (127) a is a declarative nominal copular clause, where the noun *asurang* ‘pig’ is the nominal predicate. In (127) b, the noun *asurang* ‘pig’ is questioned by the word *pitoi* ‘what’. As seen, the question word shows up in the predicate position in the interrogative clause.

- (127) a. *Veve na wampai vo nye asurang tina*  
 veve na wang-pa-i vo ne-i asurang ti-i-na  
 REL LOC there.2-DIST-SG FOC.NOM POSS-3SG.PSR pig COP-3SG-3  
 ‘That one is his pig.’
- b. *Veve na wampai vo pitoi tina*  
 veve na wang-pa-i vo pito-i ti-i-na  
 REL LOC there.2-DIST-SG FOC.NOM what-SG COP-3SG-3  
 ‘What is the one there?’

The examples so far illustrate in-situ question words. However, a question word can also be fronted, appearing in the clause external focus position. These are called ‘fronted’ questions. Consider (128a) which shows a declarative sentence where the object is focused by means of the fronting strategy with a pronominal copy (=i) showing up in the object position. The interrogative structure in (128b) shows the same structure where the object being questioned by the question word *pito* ‘what’. It appears

<sup>1</sup> The words *pake* and *tongkat* are Malay words. The construction of the verbalized *ve-* with loan words was further described in §6.6.2

in the focus position and is marked by the focus marker *ti*. In short, the declarative sentence with the focused object in (128a) has the same structure as its interrogative counterpart with the fronted question word as in (128b).

- (128) a. *Nando yampai ti yani pa*  
 nando yang-pa-i ti y-ong=i pa  
 banana there.1-DIST-SG FOC.SG 1SG-eat=3SG FOC  
 ‘That is the banana I ate.’
- b. *Pitoi ti buani pa?*  
 pito-i ti bu-ang=i pa  
 what-SG FOC.SG 2SG-eat=3SG FOC  
 ‘What is it that you are eating?’

The focus marker *ti* ‘FOC.SG’ is not obligatory in the fronted question word structure, however. This is exemplified in (129).

- (129) *Pitoi buo buoni rea ne?*  
 pito-i bu-o bu-ong=i rea e  
 what-SG 2SG-want 2SG-make=3SG again Q  
 ‘What thing do you want to make again?’

The interrogative construction like in (129) requires the content question to have the polar question particle *e* ‘Q’. Otherwise, it is ungrammatical.

### 7.7.3.3.2. Question word: *mate* ‘who’

The question word *mate* ‘who’ is used to ask about a human referent. Like *pito*, *mate* ‘who’ is also inflected for number (singular and non-singular) as in Figure 7.6. It likewise appears in-situ or fronted. When asking about the subject, the question word is placed in pre-verbal position, appearing immediately after the verb when replacing the object, and it replaces the oblique in the position after the object.

*Mate* ‘who[NSG]’ refers to the subject of the clause. It is placed in the preverbal position immediately before the verb, in the optional subject NP position, as in (130b) and (c). In (130b), *mate* is followed by the pronoun *hia* and it functions as associative plural that modifies the question word *mate* ‘who[NSG]’. It also co-references to the

subject marker on the verb. In (130c), it is only the question word *matei* is in-situ in the singular subject position, also agreeing with the singular subject marker on the verb.

- (130) a. *Henda*            *wang*  
 he-t-ra                there  
 3PL-PL-walk        there.2  
 ‘They are walking there’
- b. *Mate*                *hia*    *henda*            *wang?*  
 mate                    hia    he-t-ra            wang  
 who[NSG]              3PL    3PL-PL-walk        there.2  
 ‘Who are those walking over there?’
- c. *Matei*                *peya*                *coyo*    *ra*        *to*        *wampa*  
 mate-i                  ti-paya                ti-oyo    ra        to        wang-pa  
 who-SG                3SG-inform        3SG-say go        to        there.2-DIST[NSG]
- ra*        *ne*  
 ra        e  
 thither    Q  
 ‘Who informed (you) that I went there?’

The question word *matei* is also in-situ in the object position in the basic clause structure. This is clear with the question word *matei* in (131a), and the object position in the declarative sentence in (131b).

- (131) a. *Henda*                *matei*                *pa*  
 He-t-rora                mate-i                pa  
 3PL-PL-hit                who-SG                DIST[NSG]  
 ‘Who did they hit?’
- b. *Henda*                *Anisi*  
 he-t-rora                Anis-i  
 3PL-PL-hit                Anis-SG  
 ‘They hit Anis.’

The question word *matei* ‘who’ can be in-situ within a clause with a pseudo serial verb construction. *Matei* can question the object of the first event and simultaneously the subject of the second event. In (132a), it is *Agus* that is the object of the first event and the subject of the second event respectively. In (132b), the question word *matei* is in-situ to question *Agus*.

- (132) a. *Hempaya*            *Agus*    *hiuhi*                *na*        *ramdempe*  
 he-t-paya                Agus    ti-huhi                na        ramdempe  
 3PL-PL-say                Agus    3SG-sick                LOC        yesterday  
 ‘They said Agus was sick yesterday.’

- b. *Hempaya matei hiuhi na ramdempe ne*  
 he-t-paya mate-i ti-huhi na ramdempe e  
 3PL-PL-say who-SG 3SG-sick LOC yesterday Q  
 ‘Who did they said was sick yesterday?’

The question word *matei* can also be in-situ in the oblique position as in (133).

The question word *matei* in (131a) is in situ in the oblique in the declarative sentence in (133b).

- (133) a. *Buo yong buku ho matei ne*  
 bu-oyo y-ong buku ho mate-i e  
 2SG-say 1SG-give book DIR who-SG Q  
 ‘Who did you ask me to give a book to?’
- b. *Coyo yong buku ho aw*  
 ti-oyo y-ong buku ho au  
 3SG-say 1SG-give book DIR 2SG  
 ‘He asked me to give a book to you.’

As arguments can be fronted, the question word *mate* can also be fronted. When it is fronted, it is pragmatically motivated so it is marked. When *mate* is marked by the focus particle, it is expected that a specific person is being asked about. In (134), the question word *matei* questions the focused subject so it is marked by the focus marker *ti*.

- (134) *Matei ti cong buku ho aw ne*  
 mate-i ti ti-ong buku ho au e  
 who-SG FOC.SG 3SG-give book DIR 2SG Q  
 ‘Who is it the one that gave the book to you?’

The question word *matei* ‘who’ can question a focused object. To do so, *matei* is fronted and the pronominal copy for the object shows up in the object position in the basic clause structure, as in (135).

- (135) *Matei ti hendorai pa ne*  
 mate-i ti he-t-rora=i pa e  
 who-SG FOC.SG 3PL-PL-hit=3SG FOC Q  
 ‘It is who that they hit?’

The same fronting strategy occurs with the question word *mate* asking the oblique. *Mate* associates with the third plural pronoun *hia* to form an NP that co-references to the pronominal copy in the basic clause structure, as in (136).

- (136) *Mate*            *hia*    *metong*            *buku*   *hohia*            *pa*    *ne*  
 mate            hia    me-t-ong            buku   ho=hia            pa    e  
 who[NSG]    3PL    2PL-PL-give            book   DIR=3PL            FOC   Q  
 ‘Who did you give book to?’

In a comitative construction, the question word *mate* can question one entity in the construction, as in (137).

- (137) *Hengkong*    *mate*            *hia*    *henda na*            *ramdempe*    *ma*    *pa*  
 He-t-kong    mate            hia    he-t-ra na            ramdempe    ma    pa  
 3PL-PL-COM    who[NSG]            3PL    3PL-PL-go LOC    yesterday            hither   FOC  
 ‘With who did they come yesterday?’

In the nominal clause, *mate* ‘who’ may function as the head of the predicate in the nominal clause, as it is in the relative clause of the nominal clause in (138).

- (138) *Veve*   *kikie*   *aw*    *pai*                    [*matei*            *tina*]  
 veve    kikie    au    pa-i                    mate-i            ti-i-na  
 REL    near    2SG    DIST-SG                    who-SG            COP-3SG-3  
 ‘Who is the one near you?’

In the subject position, *mate* ‘who’ may function to modify the NP subject. The question word always follows the NP subject as the modifier, as in (139).

- (139) *Hinyontaray*   *matei*            *miung*            *asurang*            *nei*            *ne*  
 hinyontarai    mate-i            ti-ung            asurang            ne-i            e  
 person            who-SG            3SG-kill            pig            PRX-SG            Q  
 ‘Who is the person who killed this pig?’

### 7.7.3.3.3. Question word: *nani* ‘where’

*Nani* ‘where’ is used when asking about location. It is always an in-situ question word, that is placed in post-verbal position in the locative peripheral slot in the basic clause structure in §7.2. However, it can also be placed in the clause initial position for pragmatic reasons when the locative referent being asked is prominently focused.

In a verbal clause, *nani* may occur with or without the locative marker *na* ‘LOC’ in clause-final or clause-initial position, as illustrated in (140) and (141). There is a syntactic difference between *nani* and *na nani*. *Na nani* is always with question particle *e* ‘Q’ when it occurs in the clause initial position (140b) and (141b). *Nani/ na nani* which is in the clause final position does not do so (140a) and (141a).



- (140) a. *Buo rua nani*  
 bu-o bu-ra nani  
 2SG-want 2SG-go where  
 ‘Where do you want to go?’
- b. *Na nani ai buo rua toa ne*  
 na nani ai bu-o bu-ra to=a e  
 LOC where FOC[SNG] 2SG-want 2SG-go to=OBJ Q  
 ‘Which place do you want to go to?’
- (141) a. *Boriu ay pai na nani*  
 bu-ariu ai pa-i na nani  
 2SG-get wood DIST-SG LOC where  
 ‘Where did you get the wood?’
- b. *Na nani boriu ay pai ne*  
 na nani bu-ariu ai pa-i e  
 LOC where 2SG-get wood DIST-SG Q  
 ‘WHERE did you get the wood?’

The clause-initial position of the question word is pragmatically motivated as in (140b) and (141b), in which the question word becomes the focus in the question. Phonologically, the question word in the clause initial position is always stressed.

*Nani* ‘where’ is used in the nominal clause when it functions as a locative predicate. Thus, it shows the non-verbal predicate order of subject-predicate and changing the order results an ungrammatical construction, as in (142).

- (142) a. *Manu nani*  
 house where  
 ‘Where is the house?’
- b. \**Nani manu*  
 where house  
 ‘Where is the house?’

When asking about a specific location, for instance a specific house, *na nani* is used and it is placed clause-initially, as in (143a). It is the only syntactic position *na nani* can occur in. Locating it clause-finally is not grammatical, as in (b).

- (143) a. *Na nani manu pi*  
 na nani manu pi  
 LOC where house PART  
 ‘Which house is it?’

- b.    \**Manu*        *pi*        *na*        *nani*  
       manu         pi         na         nani  
       house        PART    LOC        where  
       ‘Which house is it?’

*Nani* can also be used in the locative clause asking about the location of someone or something. The question word is the head of the predicate in the non-verbal clause, as in (144). It is an in-situ question in (144a) when it is a simple symmetric question. In (144b) and (c), *nani* is also an in situ question for a locative adjunct, in which case it replaces a locative adjunct in a declarative sentence.

- (144) a.    *Hene*         *manu* *piti*    *nani*  
           he-ne         manu    pi-i    nani  
           3PL.PSR-POSS house UP.SG where  
           ‘Where is their house?’
- b.    *Na*            *nani*    *ne*  
       na            nani    ne  
       [1SG]stay    where   PRX[NSG]  
       ‘Where am I?’
- c.    *Nua*           *nani*    *pa*  
       bu-na         nani    pa  
       2SG-LOC       where   DIST[NSG]  
       ‘Where are you?’
- d.    *Nua*           *na*     *nani*    *pa*  
       bu-na         na     nani    pa  
       2SG-stay      LOC   where   DIST[NSG]  
       ‘WHERE are you?’

Note that the difference between (144c) and (d) is in the prominence of the location being questioned. The sentence in (d) is more prominent so it is stressed.

Native speakers often use alternate question constructions using the particle *o* in this in-situ position. This strategy is used with a rise in intonation at the end of the clause, which is not the case in questions with content question words. Note that this alternation is only applicable in the context of *nani* ‘where’ when it is inchangeably applied. It cannot be used for other question words.

- (145) *Rua*            *o*  
       bu-ra           o  
       2SG-go         where  
       ‘Where are you going?’

- (146) *Nya*            *o*  
 ti-na            *o*  
 3SG-live        where  
 ‘Where does she/he live?’
- (147) *Rua*            *na*    *o*  
 bu-ra            *na*    *o*  
 2SG-go            LOC    where  
 ‘Where have you been?’

*Nani* ‘where’ can function as a nominal modifier in an NP, in which case it means ‘which one’. It is placed to the right of the head noun, as in (148a), in which the object clitic =*a* and the deictic particle *pi* indicate that the canoe is indefinite. When it is a part of a focused NP and the canoe is identified, *nani* appears before the focus marker and the object clitic =*i*, and the question particle *e* indicates definiteness, as in (b).

- (148) a.    *Wa*    ***nani***    *ramdempe*    *buona*        *pi*  
 wa    *nani*    *ramdempe*    bu-ong=*a*        *pi*  
 canoe    where    yesterday    2SG-make=3SG    DEL.SG  
 ‘Which canoe did you make yesterday?’
- b.    *Wa*    ***nani***    *ti*                    *ramdempe*    *buoni*        *ne*  
 wa    *nani*    *ti*                    *ramdempe*    bu-ong=*i*        *e*  
 canoe    where    FOC.SG            yesterday        2SG-make=3SG    Q  
 ‘Which one is the canoe you made yesterday?’

*Nani* ‘where’ can be relativized as well within an NP. In this case, it is embedded in the relative clause marked by the relativizer *ve*, as in (148c).

- c.    *Buku*    *ve*    ***nani***    *ti*                    *hiuntaray*    *wampai*  
 buku    *ve*    *nani*    *ti*                    *hinyontarai*    wang-pa-*i*  
 book    REL    where    FOC.SG            person            there.2-DIST-SG
- coni*                    *ho*    *aw*    *ne*  
 ti-ong=*i*                *ho*    *au*    *e*  
 3SG-give=3SG    DIR    2SG    Q  
 ‘Which book that the person gave to you?’

In (148c), the head noun is *buku* ‘book’ and the relativized question word functions to modify the head noun. The NP is in the focus construction. Further discussion on relative clauses is given in §11.3.3.

#### 7.7.3.3.4. Question words: *hanani* ‘day-where’ and *hapitoi* ‘day-what’

There are two question words indicating time reference in Woi. They are *hanani* and *hapitoi*, which both derive from the noun *ha* ‘day’, but with different

interrogative morphemes. Thus *ha-nani*, literally ‘day-where’ has a locative perspective toward time, while *ha-pitoy*, literally ‘day-what’ has a nominal perspective toward time. Semantically they are different and the difference also correlates with the difference in their syntactic distribution.

*Hanani* ‘day.where’ can be either positioned within a prepositional phrase in the post-verbal locative peripheral slot, as in (149a) (see also Table 7.2 in section 7.2), or in clause-initial position with the polar question particle *e* ‘Q’ in clause-final position, as in (149b). The different position has a different meaning. The postverbal question word questions the time when an event occurred in the past whereas the preverbal question word questions the time when an event will occur in the future.

- (149) a.     *Ria na hanani ma*  
           ti-ra na ha-nani ma  
           3SG-go LOC day-where hither  
           ‘Which day did he/she come?’
- b.     *Na hanani ria ma ne*  
           na ha-nani ti-ra ma e  
           LOC day-where 3SG-go hither Q  
           ‘Which day will he/she come?’

*Hapitoy* ‘what day’ is used to ask about a specific time reference. Structurally, it can occur in different positions in the sentence. It can occur in clause-initial position, as in (150a), and it can also occur in a prepositional phrase in clause-final position, as in (150b).

- (150) a.     *Hapitoy rua to wampa ra ne*  
           ha-pitoy bu-ra to wang-pa ra e  
           day-what-SG 2SG-go to there.2-DIST[NSG] tither Q  
           ‘When did you go there?’ or ‘what day did you go there?’
- b.     *Rua to wampa na hapitoy*  
           bu-ra to wang-pa na ha-pitoy  
           2SG-go to there.2-DIST[NSG] LOC day-what-SG  
           ‘When will you go there?’ or ‘what day will you go there?’

The forms and the positions of *hapitoy* as illustrated in (150a) and (b) cannot be switched. In doing so, they become ungrammatical.

### 7.7.3.3.5. Question word: *pitoi* + *cona* ‘why’

Wooi does not have a simple question word for ‘why’. Questioning a reason is expressed by *pitoi* ‘what’ in combination with the causative verb *cona* ‘cause’. In this causative structure the question word appears in the clause-initial position, as in (151) and (152). It cannot occur in other positions in the clause.

- (151) ***Pitoicona***                      *hiay*                      *pa*  
 pito-i-ti-ona                      ti-hai                      pa  
 what-SG-3SG-cause                      3SG-cry                      DIST[NSG]  
 ‘Why is she/he crying?’ (lit. what caused her/him to cry?)
- (152) ***Pitoicona***                      *ma*                      *rua*                      *ma*                      *ne*  
 pito-i-ti-ona                      mara                      bu-ra                      ma                      ne  
 what-SG-3SG-cause                      so.that                      2SG-go                      hither                      PRX[NSG]  
 ‘Why are you coming?’ (lit. What caused you to come?)

The question word *pitoi* ‘what-SG’ cannot be replaced by the non-singular counterpart *pito* ‘what[NSG]’ as described in §7.7.3.3.1. The combination of *pitoi* and the verb *cona* ‘3SG-make’ becomes the default form for the question word ‘why’.

### 7.7.3.3.6. Question word: *topino* ‘how’

Forming a question that needs an answer about manner, the question word *topino* ‘how’ is used. It can be placed in the clause-initial and clause-final positions.

- (153) a.        ***Topino***                      *remuho*                      *riang*                      *to*                      *ne*  
 topino                      re-mu-ho                      ti-ra                      to                      e  
 how                      eye-2SG-ho                      3SG-go                      PERF                      Q  
 ‘How did you know that he/she has gone?’
- b.        ***Taraho***                      *Agus hia*                      *hempaya*                      *pa*  
 tara-ho                      Agus hia                      he-t-paya                      pa  
 [1SG]ear-HO                      Agus 3PL                      3PL-PL-say                      DIST[NSG]  
 ‘I heard Agus and associates said that.’
- (154) a.        ***Buong***                      ***topino***  
 bu-ong                      topino  
 2SG-make                      how  
 ‘How did you do/make (that)?’
- b.        ***Yanuni***  
 y-anung=i  
 1SG-weave=3SG  
 ‘I wove it.’

### 7.7.3.3.7. Question word: *toni* ‘how many’

To form a question that needs an answer about number or amount, the question word *toni* ‘how many’ is used. *Toni* occurs in-situ in the clause final position whether in verbal clauses (155) or non-verbal clauses (156).

- (155) a. *Boriu*            *toni*  
bu-ariu            toni  
2SG-get            how.many  
‘How many did you get?’
- b. \**Toni*            *boriu*  
toni                bu-ariu  
how.many        2SG-get  
‘How many did you get?’
- (156) a. *Nemu*            *angkati*            *buo*    *toni*  
ne-mu            angkati            buo    toni  
POSS-2SG.PSR coconut    stem    how.many  
‘How many coconut trees do you have?’
- b. \**Toni*            *nemu*            *angkati*            *buo*  
toni                ne-mu            angkati            buo  
how many        POSS-2SG.PSR coconut            stem  
‘How many coconut trees do you have?’

## 7.8. Overview of the extended clausal structure

This section deals with the extended clausal structure. The extended clausal structure refers to the structural extension of any elements outside the basic clause structure described in Table 7.2 in §7.2. The use of the extended clausal structure is pragmatically determined. Therefore, in this section, some patterns of pragmatic variations in the clause are briefly discussed, and further elaborated in chapter 12. Basic word order and argument realization are examined in §7.8.1, and the overview of extended clausal structure is discussed. In §7.8.2, properties of the extended clause structure are described. Section 7.8.3 elaborates pragmatic variation of argument realization in conjunction with how arguments become non-argument elements in the clause.

Some topics relevant to pragmatic marking in the clause such as focus constructions, topic constructions and pronominal copies are briefly described here and are further discussed in chapter 12.

### **7.8.1. Word order and argument realization**

It is clear throughout this chapter that the basic word order in Woori is SVO + OBL. The subject is morphologically expressed by prefixing to the predicate. The object and oblique occur after the predicate. The order is fixed. The fixed order requires all arguments to be expressed within the basic clause, although they can be fronted for pragmatic reasons.

The fixed word order with core arguments and the predicate reflects the principles of tightness and obligatoriness in terms of categorical expressions and linear order. Therefore, whenever any argument is fronted for pragmatic reasons, its syntactic slot must be overtly marked. It is the pronominal copy that is a requirement to arguments that undergo the fronting strategy to the pragmatic slot.

### **7.8.2. Properties of the extended clause structure**

The basic clause structure described in §7.2 can be extended with the realization of argument referents outside the basic argument structure. There are at least four properties justifying the extension of clause structure beyond the basic one.

- a. Structural: there is evidence for a larger (i.e. extended) clause structure, in which there are positions for argument and non-argument dependents sentence-initially outside the basic clause structure.
- b. Pragmatic: the sentence-initial slots are for clausal elements which are given pragmatic prominence such as (contrastive) focus and/or topic.
- c. Marking: related to properties in (a) and (b), the element appearing in the pragmatic slot often comes with a particular marker, e.g. the contrastive focus

markers *ti* and *ai* as well as *pa* in the clause final position and their integration with the element within the basic clause function is also flagged by certain marking, e.g. the presence of an anaphoric pronominal copy.

- d. Prosodic: all elements in the extended structure are prosodically one intonation unit. It is marked by a pause and a rising intonation in between the extended clause and the basic clause.

These properties are further discussed in chapter 12.

Example (157) provides an illustration showing the properties of the extended clause structure mentioned above.

<u>EXTENDED STRUCTURE</u>				<u>BASIC CLAUSE STRUCTURE</u>		
	<u>FOC</u>		<u>TOP</u>	<u>SUBJ-PRED</u>	<u>OBJPP-OBL</u>	
(157)	<b><i>Muang</i></b>	<b><i>wampai</i></b>	<b><i>ti</i></b>	<b><i>Jon</i></b>	<i>cong</i>	<i>buku</i> <i>vei</i>
	muang	wang-pa-i	ti	Jon	ti-ong	buku ve=i
	man	there.2-DIST-SG	FOC.SG	John	3SG-give	book
	for=3SG					
<u>BASIC CLAUSE STRUCTURE</u>						
<u>PP-LOC</u>				<u>PP-TEMP</u>		<u>FOC</u>
<i>na</i>	<i>nye</i>	<i>manu</i>	<i>vanei</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>ramdempe</i>	<b><i>pa</i></b>
na	ne-i	manu	va-ne-i	na	ramdempe	pa
LOC	POSS-3SG.PSR	house	NEU-PRX-SG	LOC	yesterday	FOC
'That is the man John gave the book for yesterday at his house'						

As can be seen, there are two pragmatic slots, focus and topic positions (in that order) sentence-initially as part of the extended clause. The focus element is phrasally marked by the focus marker *ti* 'FOC.SG' or *ai* 'FOC.NSG' depending on the number marking, countability and proximity, further discussed in chapter 12. The focus marking is also compositionally expressed by discontinuous marking with the presence of focus marker *pa* 'FOC' appearing in the clause-final position.

The topic (TOP) element takes no phrasal marking. This is the default TOP NP, which is associated with subject (SUBJ) realized by the pronominal verbal prefix; further discussed in chapter 12.



### 7.8.3. Variation in argument realization

Pragmatic variation in the realization of arguments is common in Woi. Some variations described here are an agreement mismatch between the NP arguments and their associate bound pronouns, focused object and focused oblique. Several examples are given here, but the details of the variation will be given in chapter 12.

An NP subject whether it is a focused subject or a topicalized subject always shows syntactic agreement between the common or proper nouns, such as John, Mary, a dog, a pig, a person, a man, a woman, etc. and inclusory pronouns marked by free pronouns or subject marker on verbs

- (158) *Markus hendobang ay nei*  
 Markus he-t-robang ai ne-i  
 Markus 3PL-PL-cut tree PRX-SG  
 ‘Markus and associates cut this tree.’

- (159) *Vaving pa hungkahiow ya*  
 vaving pa hu-r-kahiou ya  
 woman DIST[NSG] 3DU-DU-angry 1SG  
 ‘Those two women are angry at me.’

- (160) *Horota ne hia mara henda na o:*  
 Hotorā ne hia mara he-t-ra na o  
 Horota DIST[NSG] 3PL that 3PL-PL-go LOC FILL

*hiha Wondamang...*  
 hiha Wondamang  
 mainland Wondama  
 ‘Horota clan came from the mainland Wondama.’ [MARGA\_exp]

In (158), the noun *Markus* is a singular entity but it appears with the third plural subject marker *he-* ‘3PL’ on the verb *robang* ‘cut’ that then obligatorily supplies the plural number properties to the NP subject and makes it a plural entity. In (159), the head noun *vaving* has a generic number (no number marking). Thus, it can be modified by the non-singular modifier *pa* ‘DIST[NSG]’ and they then agree with the third dual subject marker *hu-* ‘3DU’ on the verb *kahiow* ‘angry’. In (160), the head noun *Horota* also has a generic number so it can be modified by the non-singular number supplied by the modifier *ne* ‘PRX[NSG]’ and the associative plural *hia* ‘3PL’ and they all agree in

person and number with the subject marker *he-* ‘3PL’. Thus, in this argument realization, subject markers on verbs supply grammatical features, i.e. person and number to an NP required by any pragmatic factors. In this case, what appear to be a mismatch between the head noun and other noun modifiers and with its subject marker agreement is triggered by a need to express inclusory/associative meaning. This mismatch can also occur with focused object and oblique arguments as shown in (161) and (162) when the head noun mismatches with the modifiers and the pronominal copy in the basic clause structure.

- (161) *Ariang nine hia ramdempe Robi hia hendahia pa*  
 ariang ning-ne hia ramdempe Robi hia he-t-rora=hia pa  
 child here-PRX[NSG] 3PL yesterday Robi 3PL 3PL-PL-hit-3PL FOC  
 ‘These are the children that yesterday Robi and associates hit.’

- (162) *Jean ne ama cong buku ne*  
 Jean ne ama ti-ong buku ne  
 Jean PRX[NSG] 1PL.EXC 3SG-give book PRX[NSG]

*veama pa*  
 ve=ama pa  
 for=1PL.EXC FOC

‘These are Jean, I and associates that she/he gave these book to.’

The object in the clause can also be fronted and topicalized, referred to here as TOP2, distinct from the default TOP which is grammatically SUBJ. As a result, it is placed in front of the subject (i.e. default topic) NP as in (163b).

- (163) a. *Jon riora Agus hia*  
 Jon ti-rora Agus hia  
 John 3SG-hit Agus 3PL  
 ‘John hit Agus and associates.’
- b. *Ya amai cong doy vey*  
 ya amai ti-ong doi ve=ya  
 1SG father[1SG.PSR] 3SG-give money for=1SG  
 ‘As for me, my father gave the money’

Sentence (163a) shows the basic word order SVO with the A argument being subject/default TOP. Sentence (163b) indicates topicalization R (oblique). Note that the basic word order is still preserved by having the pronominal copy, the pronoun *ya*

‘1SG’, cliticized to the preposition *ve* ‘for’. In this way, the syntactic slot of the fronted arguments is filled in the basic clause structure.

The focused unit is fronted and possibly marked by the contrastive focus particle showing agreement. The contrastive focus construction of the object is exemplified in (164): sentence (a) shows the full object NP in postverbal position; sentence (b) and (c) shows fronted and focused object NPs. As can be seen, the contrastive focus particle (*ai/ti*) agrees with the fronted NP object in terms of number. The pronominal copy (*=i* vs. unmarked) in the basic clause must also agree in number.

- (164) a. *Hendobang ay nine*  
 he-t-robang ai ning-ne  
 3PL-PL-cut tree here-PRX[NSG]  
 ‘They cut the trees.’
- b. *Ay nine ai hendobam pa*  
 ai ning-ne ai he-t-robang pa  
 tree here-PRX[NSG] FOC.NSG 3PL-PL-cut[NSG] FOC  
 ‘Those are the trees they cut.’
- c. *Ay ninei ti hendobani pa*  
 ai ning-ne-i ti he-t-robang=i pa  
 tree here-PRX-SG FOC.SG 3PL-PL-cut=SG FOC  
 ‘It is the tree that they cut.’

An oblique argument in focus also shows the same structural and agreement properties as shown in (165). Note that the fronted element of the oblique does not include the oblique marker (*ve*). The preposition remains in the post verbal position, which now hosts the pronominal clitic *=i*.

- (165) a. *Jon cong doy ve Meri*  
 Jon ti-ong doi ve Meri  
 John 3SG-give money for Mary  
 ‘John gave money to Mary.’
- b. *Meri ti Jon cong doy vei pa*  
 Meri ti Jon ti-ong doi ve=i pa  
 Mary FOC.SG John 3SG-give money for=3SG FOC  
 ‘It is Mary that John gave the money to.’

Peripheral elements such as temporal and locative adverbials can also be focused with the same fronting strategy, as exemplified in (166) and (167).

(166) *Ramdempe ai apui hengkahiw ve*  
 ramdempe ai apui he-t-kahio ve  
 yesterday FOC.NSG grandparent 3PL-PL-angry for

*ama pa*  
 ama pa  
 1PL.EXC FOC

‘It was yesterday that my grandparents were angry with us.’

(167) *Meja ninei ti yong buku vata na*  
 meja ning-ne-i ti y-ong buku vata na  
 table here-PRX-SG FOC.SG 1SG-put book stand.up.LOC LOC

*vavom pa*  
 vavo pa  
 on FOC

‘It is this table that I put the book on.’

In (166), the temporal peripheral element is fronted into focus position. This peripheral element cannot be tracked in its former syntactic position. As it is an adjunct which is not as tight as core arguments, it does not need a pronominal copy. In (167), the locative peripheral element is fronted into focus position. The locative peripheral is traceable in its syntactic position in the basic clause structure as it also leaves the locative preposition to indicate the position of the locative nominal being fronted, although a pronominal copy does not appear in the basic clause structure.

# Chapter 8 – Grammatical relations

## 8.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses grammatical relations in Woi. Some basic concepts of grammatical relations (GRs) are discussed in §8.2. The discussion elaborates various theoretical views of grammatical relations but mainly adopts Dixon's basic theory of grammatical relations. In §8.3, the discussion clusters around grammatical relations in Woi and their coding and behavioural properties. These include canonical word order, constituent class categories and agreement marking. Relativization and serial verb constructions (SVCs) are also tests for subjecthood which support the claim of subject marking in Woi. Thus, it is demonstrated that Woi has grammatical relations of subject (SUBJ), object (OBJ), oblique (OBL), adjunct (ADJ) and complement (COMP). In §8.4, the alignment pattern of nominative-accusative in Woi is identified and discussed and also the alignment for three-place predicate verbs. Finally in the last section (§8.5), a summary is given, wrapping up the main points discussed throughout the chapter.

## 8.2. Defining grammatical relations

Grammatical relations play an important role in syntax, reflecting the way grammatical structure combines a predicate and its dependent units (Bickel 2007: 1). The dependent units can be broadly defined as the participant roles based on their syntactic, semantic and pragmatic properties (Croft 2003, Payne 1997, Givón 1997, Bickel 2007). Subject and object are two main core syntactic dependents reflecting two

main participant roles in a highly agentive transitive predicate like 'hit'. They become the main concern in grammatical relations in languages like Wooi, as their identification allows us to discuss other GRs.

There are several formal morphosyntactic properties encoding participant roles in GRs. Dixon (1987: 3) indicates that any or (a combination) of the following properties can encode GRs: (i) case inflections; (ii) particles, i.e. prepositions or postpositions; (iii) pronominal cross-referencing on the main verb, or an auxiliary verb, or (iv) word order. Croft (2003: 143) and Givón (1997) narrow down three main properties which assign grammatical relations in the world's languages. They are case marking (or nominal case morphology), indexation (or verb agreement), and word order. These properties of encoding GRs significantly vary among the world's languages as languages differ in terms of the available resources. There are some languages that make use of all coding properties in their grammatical relations, but there are also some languages where grammatical relations are not set up by all coding properties: there are only certain properties that are relevant to encoding grammatical relations. In Modern Hebrew all coding properties are applicable for grammatical relations. However, in languages such as Papago, Ute or Walbiri, word order is not relevant as they have free word order (Givón 1997: 9). As for a language like English where there is no morphological case marking for grammatical relations, case marking is not applicable for grammatical relations, except for case alternations in its pronouns.

To begin with, GRs in Wooi are defined and represented following the convention in linguistic typology introduced by Dixon (1979) and (1987): S, A and O. S represents the single core argument of the intransitive predicate, A represents the more agent-like argument of the transitive predicate and O represents the more patient-like argument of the transitive predicate. Slightly different labels are used by other scholars, e.g. S, A, P (Comrie 1981: 119), S, A, P, T and G/R (Croft 2003: 143, Haspelmath

2007), where T stands for the theme object and G/R for goal/recipient of a three-place predicate.

Subject S, agent A and patient O are core grammatical relations that can be of different specific semantic roles such as agent, experiencer, patient, stimulus, theme, and goal. There is also a peripheral role that clusters around the core grammatical relations. They are G/R obliques in Woi. In Woi, core and peripheral grammatical relations are overtly identifiable in the surface syntactic structure. Thus, the main description aims at presenting the core grammatical relations, S/A (or subject) and object, and then followed by G/R and adjunct.

In Woi, GRs can be diagnostically tested by looking at three formal encoding properties, namely word order, constituent categories, and person marking on verbs. In this language, these three encoding properties are inter-related and therefore have to be discussed in relation to each other. For example, to examine word order, we must not only deal with linear precedence of arguments and predicate but also their constituent categories. It is therefore relevant to set up arguments in the right order and to determine which constituent categories must be close to the predicate. Then, we also have to examine which argument receives morphological agreement on the predicate.

Consider the word order at the basic clausal level in Woi as exemplified in (1), (2) and (3), where the subject marker agrees with the verb, but still allows an optional subject NP to appear in the pre-verbal position and the object NP immediately follows the head of the predicate and the oblique is marked by a PP following the object.

- |     |   |                     |            |           |              |      |
|-----|---|---------------------|------------|-----------|--------------|------|
| (1) | S   | V                   |            |           |              |      |
|     | <b><i>Vino vaw</i></b>                                  | <b><i>henda</i></b> | <i>rea</i> | <i>ma</i> | <i>o:...</i> |      |
|     | Vino vau  | he-t-ra             | rea        | ma        | o            |      |
|     | Vino NEU[NSG]   | 3PL-PL-go           | again      | hither    | FILL         |      |
|     | ‘The Vino (people) went again toward this direction...’ |                     |            |           |              | [id. |
|     | traditional_land_Kirihio_exp 103]                       |                     |            |           |              |      |

	<u>A</u>			<u>V</u>	<u>O</u>
(2)	<i>Ariang katung</i>	<i>nei</i>	<i>o:</i>	<i>coung</i>	<i>wona pai...</i>
	ariang katu-N	ne-i	o	ti-oung	wona pa-i
	child little-LIG	PRX-SG	FILL	3SG-look.after	dog DIST-SG
	'This small child looked after that dog...' [id. frogstory2_JK_JEN 001]				

	<u>A</u>	<u>O</u>	<u>OBL</u>	
(3)	<i>Yong</i>	<i>doy</i>	<i>ve</i>	<i>Joni</i>
	y-ong	doi	ve	Jon
	1SG-give	money	for	John
	'I gave the money to John.'			

Examples (1), (2) and (3) illustrate the inter-relationship of coding properties in analyzing grammatical relations in Woi: the subject must attach to the verb and it can co-reference to an optional NP in the pre-verbal subject position. Other non-subject grammatical relations are syntactically encoded by categorial expressions, i.e. NP and PP.

Word order, in particular, shows three related features that are relevant for grammatical relations in Woi: rigidity of constituent order, relative tightness and adjacency of dependents in their head predicate. Woi is a language with rigid word order. It has a prototypical Malayo-Polynesian clausal constituent order of SVO, which is the word order found almost in most Malayo-Polynesian languages, especially languages of eastern Indonesia (Klamer 2002a, 2002b, Blust 2013: 461). Word order in Woi is rigid in the sense that the linear precedence of certain syntactic units is fixed. This is observed at the level of the basic/core clause structure as well as the level of the phrase. For example, the basic clause structure must have subject-verb-object order; any order modification, such as reordering or insertion, is not permitted (cf. Dryer 2007a). Each grammatical relation belongs to certain constituent unit, i.e. subject is pronominal marking and or an NP, object is NP and oblique is PP. This was discussed in §7.2.



### 8.3. Grammatical relations and their properties

Wooi distinguishes grammatical relations of subject, object, obliques, and adjuncts transparently in its grammar in terms of word order, constituent categories and person marking, and certain behavioural properties. This section further discusses these grammatical relations in more detail and provides adequate examples to support the discussion. Subjects are discussed in §8.3.1, objects in §8.3.2, obliques in §8.3.3, adjuncts in §8.3.4, and complements in §8.3.5.

#### 8.3.1. Subject: S/A

Subjects (S/A) in Wooi have the properties shown in (4).

- (4)
- a. word order: immediately preceding the verb;
  - b. categorial expression: expressed by NP;
  - c. agreement marking: cross-referenced by a pronominal prefix on the verb;
  - d. behavioural properties: obligatorily shared complex structures such as in verb serialization and gapping in relative clauses.

#### Linear order and neutralized S/A (subject) function and categorial expression

Canonical word order in Wooi provides good evidence for the notion of subject as the most neutralized relation showing the alignment of S/A (subject). Subject is obligatorily marked by the prefixed-subject marker on verbs, regardless of its semantic roles and its coreferential NP in the pre-verbal position.

In word order, examples in (5) and (6) illustrate that the subject is prefixed to the verb and the coreferent NP S (*pinamatapapu* ‘frog’) and the NP A (*hinyani* ‘his mother’) both immediately precede the verb:

- (5)
- |           |            |             |                          |               |
|-----------|------------|-------------|--------------------------|---------------|
| <i>ha</i> | <i>pei</i> | <i>mara</i> | <i>pinamatapapu vati</i> | <i>ria...</i> |
| ha        | pe-i       | mara        | pinamatapapu va-i        | ti-ra         |
| day       | DEI-SG     | that        | frog NEU-SG              | 3SG-go        |
- ‘One day, the frog went...’ [frogstory1\_EW\_JEN 002-004]



Recipient S

- (13) *Jon terui doi kong tamani*  
 Jon ti-tarui doi kong tama-n-i  
 John 3SG-receive money from father-3SG.PSR-3SG-PSS  
 ‘John received money from his father.’

The preverbal property of S/A (subject) needs some comments in relation to its linear order realizations as an NP and indexing pronominal prefix. It is described in detail later in this section.

Turning to categorical expression (i.e. flagging), there are two key properties that should be noted. First of all, as mentioned earlier, the free subject NP is not obligatorily present. A subject NP is present when it is required by the discourse, for instance, when it introduces the new topic in the discourse, as in (14). However, a clause can have its free NP elided. In fact, in natural discourse, it is indeed often unexpressed. Its presence is regulated by information structure considerations; discussed in Chapter 12. This highlights the fact that subject NP in Woi is grammatically of a different nature than the subject in English.

- (14) [*Kendi ne hia mara] henda na o:*  
 Kendi ne hia mara he-t-ra na o  
 Kendi PRX[NSG] 3PL that 3PL-PL-go LOC FILL
- nu Bia raw ti ma rey*  
 nu Bia rau ti ma rei  
 place Biak sea FOC.SG hither land  
 ‘The Kendi clan came from the Island of Biak to here (Wooi village).’  
 [MARGA\_exp\_JEWW 016]

Secondly, in terms of its preverbal structural position, the NP subject must always immediately precede the verb. Arguably there is a unique preverbal subject position, not the same as the position for the fronted non-subject element. Evidence for this comes from the fact that focus and topic are different in the pragmatic slots in the pre-clausal position. The NP subject can only be in the topic slot, which is the pragmatic slot immediately before the verb. This is explicitly illustrated in Table 8.1.

Table 8.1. Position of arguments in the basic clause in Woi.

DF		PRED	ARG	ARG
NP:FOC <sup>1</sup>	NP:TOP	[ <sub>pref-S/A</sub> -V	NP:O	PP:OBL]

First evidence comes from resistance to material insertion. No materials (such as adverbs) can be inserted in between the NP subject and the verb as in (15).

- (15) *Wona pai (\*ramdempe) coung ariang katung nei.*  
 wona pa-i ramdempe ti-oung ariang katung ne-i  
 dog DIST-SG yesterday 3SG-look.after child small PRX-SG  
 ‘Yesterday that dog looked after this small child.’

The topic NP that co-references to the subject marker on the verb is relatively tight so they must be immediately adjacent to each other. The tightness is different from a focus subject in which a temporal adverb can intervene between the pragmatic slot and the syntactic slot in a clause as in (16).

- (16) *Mia ramdempe menda Agus pa ne*  
 mia ramdempe me-rora Agus pa e  
 2PL yesterday 2PL-hit Agus FOC Q  
 ‘Is that you that yesterday hit Agus?’

In (16), the adverb *ramdempe* ‘yesterday’ is inserted in between the focus subject *mia* ‘2PL’ and the verb. This is acceptable in Woi.

Further evidence that the NP subject must be uniquely in preverbal position comes from the fact that the free subject NP cannot be postposed. This would give rise to an ungrammatical construction, as shown in (17) b:

- (17) a. *Hinyani tewe Agus* (A-V-O)  
 hinya-n-i te-awe Agus=i  
 Mother-3SG.PSR-3SG.PSS 3SG-look.for Agus=SG  
 ‘His mother looked for Agus.’
- b. \* *Tewe Agus hinyani* (\*V-O-A)  
 ti-awe Agus=i hinya-n-i  
 3SG-look.for Agus=3SG mother-3SG.PSR-3SG.PSS  
 ‘His mother looked for Agus.’

<sup>1</sup> As described in chapter 7 and chapter 12, the slot for focus can take up to two focused NPs. The structure of possible two focused NPs is given in details in chapter 12.

The third piece of evidence comes from the structure with focused O of the type illustrated in (18) and (19). Recall that NP object and PP oblique can be fronted clause-initially. Crucially, in this structure, the NP subject must remain immediately preverbal. The fronted NP object or PP oblique takes the focus slot, which precedes Topic/the NP subject slot, as seen in (18) and (19).

(18) *Maneta*                      *Jon*    *ti*                      *pinamunay*    *keripi*            *pa*  
 ma-neta                      Jon    ti                      pinamunai    ti-kari=i            pa  
 1PL.EXC.PSR-sibling    John    FOC[SG]            snake            3SG-bite=3SG    FOC  
 ‘It is our young brother, John, that the snake bit.’ [elicited]

(19) *Ariang nine*                      *ai*                      *Jean*    *cong*                      *buku*    *ne*  
 ariang    ning-ne                      ai                      Jean    ti-ong                      buku    ne  
 Child    here-PRX[NSG]    FOC.NSG                      Jean    3SG-give                      book    PRX[NSG]  
  
*vehia*                      *pa*  
 ve=hia                      pa  
 for=3PL                      FOC  
 ‘These are the children Jean gave these books to.’

In (18), *pinamunay* ‘snake’ is the NP subject and it immediately precedes the verb. Whereas, the NP object, *Maneta Jon* ‘our brother John’ precedes the NP subject. In (19), *ariang nine* ‘these children’ is the recipient oblique that is fronted and its syntactic slot in the basic clause structure takes the pronominal copy *hia* ‘3PL’. An attempt to place the fronted object immediately in preverbal position results in an ungrammatical structure as in (20):

(20) \**Rusa nei*                      *hinyong*                      *katung nei*                      *kiori*                      *ra*  
 rusa    ne-i                      hinyong                      katung    ne-i                      ti-ko=i                      ra  
 deer    PRX-SG                      child                      small    PRX-SG                      3SG-bring=3SG    tither  
 ‘It is this small child that this deer carries him away.’

To conclude, there is strong empirical evidence that there is a dedicated subject position in preverbal position, which is also TOP that is distinct from fronted object and oblique in the discourse function (DF) position, as indicated in Table 8.1). As seen, the structural analysis adopted here is that the fronted NP occupies a clause-external DF position, which is distinct from the subject (S/A) position. The subject position is part of the core clause structure, and the DF position is part of the extended-clause structure.

It should be noted, however, that a free pronoun cannot appear in the core-clause internal subject position, for pragmatic-semantic reasons. That is, the pronominal prefix on the verb is itself referential and can function as subject, and because of this, a free pronoun position has no motivation to show up in the subject position, as it does not add anything. However, the fact that the appearance of the free pronouns is regarded ungrammatical, as seen from (21), suggests that the distribution of the free pronouns and the corresponding bound verbal pronominal is mutually exclusive.

- (21) *Na kapape vat mara (\*hura) huntawa vahay ra*  
 na kapape va-i mara hura hu-r-tawa vahai ra  
 LOC slope NEU-SG then 3DU 3DU-DU-fall directly thither  
 ‘At the slope, then they fell directly down.’

It is expected then that with good pragmatic reasons, e.g. contrastive FOC for emphasis, a free pronoun can show up in the pre-verbal position as exemplified in (22) and (23).

- (22) *Mantaung ya yong doy ve Joni pa*  
 Mantaung ya y-ong doy ve Jon-i pa  
 Alone 1SG 1SG-give money for John-SG FOC  
 ‘I, myself, gave the money to John.’

- (23) *Dominggus, hinyontaray Wooi Rawing, anti miung asurang nei pa*  
 Dominggus, hinyontarai Wooi Rawing anti ti-mung asurang ne-i pa  
 Dominggus person Wooi Bay 3SG 3SG-kill pig PRX-SG FOC  
 ‘It is Dominggus, the Wooi person, that killed this pig.’

Note that in the proposed analysis here, the free pronoun is not in the clause internal subject position, but in the clause-external DF position (cf. Table 8.1). Thus, further examples in (24) and (25) are evidence for the claim in which the fronting NP or PP can appear before it as predicted by the proposed analysis.

- (24) *Mantaung ya ramdempe yong doy ve Joni pa*  
 mantaung ya ramdempe y-ong doi ve Jon-i pa  
 alone 1SG yesterday 1SG-give money for John-SG FOC  
 ‘I, myself, gave the money to John yesterday.’

(25)	<i>Dominggus,</i>	<i>hinyontaray</i>	<i>Wooi</i>	<i>Rawing</i>	<i>tina,</i>	<i>anti</i>
	Dominggus,	hinyontarai	Wooi	Rawing	ti-i-na	anti
	Dominggus	person	Wooi	Bay	COP-3SG-3	3SG
	<i>ramdempe</i>	<i>miung</i>	<i>asurang</i>	<i>nei</i>	<i>pa</i>	
	ramdempe	ti-mung	asurang	ne-i	pa	
	yesterday	3SG-kill	pig	PRX-SG	FOC	
	'It is Dominggus, the Wooi person, that killed this pig.'					

However, it is attested that other constituents, except the adjunct of time reference, cannot be inserted in between the external DF position and NP subject/TOP. Wooi does not allow a clause to function as a subject, such as the 'that clause' in English or 'bahwa clause' in Indonesian (see §8.3.5).

### Verbal agreement

Subject is the only grammatical relation that obligatorily controls verbal agreement. The following points should be noted regarding the nature of subject agreement in Wooi.

First, the agreement is essentially anaphoric, not syntactic of the type as encountered in English. There are three pieces of evidence counting for an analysis of anaphoric agreement: (a) the free NP in the clause-internal subject position is optional, and (b) the prefix is referential (i.e. it can stand by itself and refers to a participant, (c) given (a-b) and the fact the free pronoun cannot appear in this position as discussed earlier as in §7.3.1, the free NP in the subject position must bear a particular discourse function. It is proposed that such an NP bears (primary or default) TOP. This is further discussed in §12.3.

A clause can only have the prefixed-subject on verbs when it functions as the subject grammatical relation. In many discourse instances, subject marking is used without an NP subject as in (26) and (27), in which both stories have previously introduced the subjects. Thus, the free antecedent NPs can be left out from the discourse, leaving its anaphoric subject markers *ta-* '1PL.INC' in (26) and *ti-* '3SG' in (27) on verbs to function in its grammatical role in the clauses. The corpus indicates that

all subjects – person and number – can function as anaphoric subject markers without their antecedent NPs.

(26) *tamperang ay baba vat ra tarobani trus*  
 ta-t-perang ai baba va-i mara ta-t-robang=i trus  
 1PL.INC-PL-cut tree big NEU-SG then 1PL.INC-PL-chop=3SG then  
 ‘We cut the big tree then we chopped it then...’ [gardening\_exp1\_JEN, 011-012]

(27) *...riam pa ria kiopa ra kiopa haha botol nei*  
 ti-ra payna ti-ra ti-kopa mara ti-kopa haha botol ne-i  
 3SG-go so 3SG-go 3SG-jump then 3SG-jump into bottle PRX-SG  
 ‘...he went so he went and jumped into this bottle...’ [frogstory1\_EW\_JEN 046-047]

In some instances, a free pronoun subject can appear pre-verbally and it co-references to the subject marker of verbs, as in (28).

(28) *Ya mahoy mehari*  
 Ya mahoi mehari  
 1SG [1SG]sit alone  
 ‘I sat alone.’

However, the presence of a free pronoun as in (28) is optional, as in (29).

(29) *Mahoy mehari*  
 Mahoi mehari  
 [1SG]sit alone  
 ‘I sat alone.’

Regardless of whether a subject NP or a subject free pronoun appears in the pre-verbal position, the subject agreement marker on verbs cannot be dropped in Woi. Unlike sentences (30a) (where both the NP and the prefix are present), and (30b) (where the free NP is dropped), sentence (30c) is not grammatical in Woi as the subject marker is absent and there is no anaphoric agreement between the pronominal NP and the subject marker on the verb.

(30) a. *Joni riora hia na ramdempe*  
 Jhon-i ti-rora hia na ramdempe  
 John-3SG 3SG-hit 3PL LOC yesterday  
 ‘John hit them yesterday.’

b. *Riora hia na ramdempe*  
 ti-rora hia na ramdempe  
 3SG-hit 3PL LOC yesterday  
 ‘He/she hit them yesterday.’



c.	<i>i*/Marta</i>	<i>rora</i>	<i>hia</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>ramdempe</i>
	i / Marta	rora	hia	na	ramdempe
	3SG/ Marta	hit	3PL	LOC	yesterday
	'He/she/Marta hit them yesterday.'				

This shows that the subject marking on the verb adheres to the tightness principle that describes the closeness between subject and the predicate. Structural tightness is related to the principles of morphological markedness and distance/adjacency (see Zwicky 1978, Landsberd 1995, Haspelmath 2003, 2006, Bybee 2010, Haiman 1983, and Langendonck 1995) as cross-linguistically manifested in the expression of grammatical relations by verb agreement and/or case-marking/adpositions. It has been shown that dependent marking and agreement (head) marking reflects the GR hierarchy of subject > object > obliques (cf. Keenan and Comrie 1979, Croft 1999, among others). The presence of subject-verb agreement is an indication of structural tightness in Woori and evidence that subject is higher than other arguments in the hierarchy: SUBJ > OBJ > OBL. The subject is the top element in the hierarchy and is the only unit highly integrated into the morphology of the verb (i.e. marked morphologically on the verb showing verbal agreement). Object is higher than Oblique in terms of syntactic boundness to the verb.

### Complex structure formation

Subjects, but not other arguments, are obligatorily shared in serial verb constructions. The subject sharing property shows up in two different patterns. In the first pattern, the subject can be overtly marked on all verbs in the series, as in (31) and (32), and this is encoded by the same subject prefix. In the second pattern, however, the subject prefix is absent in the second verb in the series, as described further in §10.4.1.2. Types of serial verb constructions are given in chapter 10.

(31) <i>Co</i>	<i>ria</i>	<i>riobang</i>	<i>ay</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>wirey</i>
ti-o	ti-ra	ti-robang	ai	na	wirei
3SG-want	3SG-go	3SG-cut	tree	LOC	forest
'She is going to cut the tree in the forest.'					

- (32) *Henda*            *hemahoy*        *hendoy*        *na*    *wampa*            *ra*    *to*  
 he-t-ra            he-t-mahoi        he-t-roi        na    wang-pa            ra    to  
 3PL-PL-go        3PL-PL-sit        3PL-PL-sing    LOC    there.2-DIST[NSG] thither PERF  
 ‘They have gone singing there.’

In (31), three verbs *o* ‘want’, *ra* ‘go’ and *robang* ‘cut’ share the same subject agreement marking *ti-* ‘3SG’. Likewise, subject, i.e. *he-* ‘3PL’, is also shared in the verb *ra* ‘go’, *mahoy* ‘sit’ and *roy* ‘sing’ as in (32). The shared subject imposes the constraint that the prefix must be the same form, carrying the same referential features, namely person and number.

Unlike subjects, object arguments are not typically shared by multiple verbs in serialization (cf. Collins 1997, Sperlich 1993, Bradshaw 1993, Foley 2010). In (31), the NP *ay* ‘tree’ is the only object of the verb *robang* ‘cut’ which is a transitive verb that requires a subject and an object, which themselves refer to agents and patients in this case the subject is *ti-* ‘3SG’ and the object is *ay* ‘tree’. This is further discussed in chapter 10 on serial verb constructions.

Subject has a property uniquely different from other arguments in terms of relativization in Wooi: unlike other arguments, a relativized subject must be gapped in the relative clause. Consider the contrast in (33) a showing a relativized subject with gapping (acceptable) and (33b) showing a relativized subject with overt subject marking (unacceptable):

- (33) a.    *Vaving* [*ve* \_\_\_ *na* *na* *manu*] *wampai*        *piang* *ria*  
 vaving    ve        na    na    manu    wang-pa-i        piang    ti-ra  
 woman   REL    live    LOC    house    there.2-DIST-SG    already   3SG-go

*nya*                    *Harui* *to*  
 ti-na                    Harui    to  
 3SG-live                Serui    PERF

‘The woman who used to live at that house has already lived in Serui.’

- b. \* *Vaving* [*ve nya na manu*] *wampai piang ria*  
 vaving ve ti-na na manu wang-pa-i piang ti-ra  
 woman REL 3SG-live LOC house there.2-DIST-SG already 3SG-go

*nya Harui to.*  
 ti-na Harui to  
 3SG-live Serui PERF

‘The woman who used to live at that house has already lived in Serui.’

Thus, relativization can be an important diagnostic test for the subject and non-subject argument distinction in Wooi. Note that the property that only subjects can be relativised by gapping is common in many other Austronesian languages, especially of the Philippine or Indonesian types (Shibatani 2009: 170, Himmelmann 2005: 162). Non-subject arguments mainly can be gapped if human object or oblique, or retain their overt marking argument by having pronominal copy (or pronominal retention) for non-human object or oblique. The difference between human and non-human object and oblique in revitalization is further discussed in chapter 11 on complex clauses.

It is noted that the antecedent NP of the relativized subject is not necessarily subject in the matrix clause. The relativized NP could be an object NP or oblique NP in the matrix clause as seen in (34) and (35).

- (34) *Arnold rieho vaving veve \_\_ra na ninei ma*  
 Arnold ti-reho vaving veve ra na ning-ne-i ma  
 Arnold 3SG-see woman REL go LOC here-PRX-SG hither  
 ‘Arnold saw a woman who came here.’

- (35) *Yong nando ve Agus veve \_\_na na Wonyapi*  
 y-ong nando ve Agus veve na na Wonyapi  
 1SG-give banana for Agus REL live LOC Wainap  
 ‘I gave some bananas to Agus who lives in Woinap.’

In (34), the relativized subject NP is an object of the matrix clause whereas, in (35), it is an oblique.

### 8.3.2. Object: O

Object in Wooi has the following properties as in (36):

- (36) a. It is immediately fixed in postverbal position.

- b. It is also a neutral term for various semantic roles such as patient, theme, and stimulus.
- c. It is an NP in the form of a common noun, a proper name, or a pronoun.
- d. It retains its syntactic slot by having a pronominal copy in a focus construction. In relativization, only a non-human object has a pronominal copy (see §11.3.3)

**Linear order and immediate postverbal argument.**

The object is placed immediately in post-verbal position in the form of an NP. The object can be a common noun as in (37), a proper name as in (38), or a free pronoun as in (39).

(37) *...endobang*            *ay*    *baba*    *vanei*            *rea*    *no...*  
 e-t-robang            ai    baba    va-ne-i            rea    o  
 3PL.INDEF-PL-cut    tree    big    NEU-PRX-SG    again    FILL  
 ‘(if they want to open the garden)...they cut the big tree again until...’  
 [gardening\_exp1\_JEN 010]

(38) *Heso*            *Jean*    *vo*    *ria*    *heyo*            *hemung*    *hia*  
 He-t-ho            Jean    vo    ti-ra    he-t-hayo            he-t-mung    hia  
 3PL-PL-throw.at Jean    because 3SG-go    3PL-PL-look    3PL-PL-fight    3PL

*payna*  
 paina  
 so  
 ‘They threw (a stone) at Jean because she went to see them fight.’

(39) *Tasanetato*            *hia*    *varomi*            *humahoy*    *piboki na*    *o:*  
 ta-t-hanetato            hia    varomi            hu-t-mahoi    piboki na    o  
 1PL.INC-PL-think            3PL    in.order.to            3DU-PL-stay    kind    LOC    FILL

*na*    *mandora*            *hune*            *nei*            *to*    *pong*            *ra...*  
 na    mandora            hu-ne            ne-i            to    repong            ra  
 LOC    family            3DU-POSS            PRX-SG            DIR    front            thither  
 ‘We think of them so that they (two) can live better forward in their family.’  
 [KEPALADESA\_dialog1\_JEN 037-038]

There cannot be any material intercepting between the verb and object as it will violate the object position as the immediate unit after the verb. To do so will produce an ungrammatical construction as in (40).

- (40) \*...*endobang*            [*hampompe*] *ay*    *baba* *vanei*            *rea*    *no...*  
 e-t-robang            hampompe            ai            baba    va-ne-i            rea    o  
 3PL.INDEF-PL-cut    in.the.past            tree            big            NEU-PRX-SG    again    FILL  
 ‘...they cut the big tree again in the past...’

This is supported by the fact that the word order in Wooi applies the principle of tightness and adjacency. Object is the immediate grammatical relation following the verb and no insertion (40) and permutation are not required. Object and oblique permutation (alternation) is not allowed. This is further discussed in §8.3.3.

### A neutralized function O (object)

Object in Wooi is also a neutralized function with O/P possibly of different non-agent roles such as patient, theme, and stimulus. Consider the following examples in (41) to (44) which show the position and the neutralized function of object.

Incremental theme O:

- (41) ...*tatong*            *o:*    *worwa*    *vanei*            *rea...*  
 ta-t-ong            o    worua    va-ne-i            rea  
 1PL.INC-PL-make    FILL    fence    NEU-PRX-SG    again  
 ‘...we make that fence again ...’ [gardening\_exp1\_JEN 027-028]

Patient O:

- (42) *Amay*            *ria*            *ya*    *pa*            *hay*  
 Amai            ti-rora    ya    payna            hai  
 [1SG]father    3SG-hit    1SG    so.that    [1SG]cry  
 ‘My father hit me so that I am crying.’

Theme O:

- (43) *Piang*            *teriu*            *nyoy*            *veve*            *nai*            *na*            *dapur*            *pai*  
 piang            ti-tariu    nyoi            veve            na=i            na            dapur            pa-i  
 already            3SG-get    knife            REL            stay=3SG    LOC            kitchen            DIST-SH  
 ‘He/she has got the knife that was put somewhere in the kitchen.’

Stimulus O:

- (44) *Reho*            *hia*            *veve*            *ona*            *tamatay*            *pai*  
 Re-ho            hia            veve            ona            ta-t-matai            pa-i  
 [1SG]see-Ho    3PL    REL            cause    1PL.EXC-PL-afraid    DIST-SG  
 ‘I saw them who made us afraid.’

Semantic roles such as locative object, goal, instrument, and recipient cannot be applicable to object arguments as they always take a preposition. Thus, they show an oblique function (see §8.3.3).

### A pronominal copy to retain its syntactic slot

The immediate position after the verb can also be tested when the NP object is under left-dislocation to the pragmatic slot in the clause initial position. Its syntactic position in the basic clause structure is replaced by an enclitic. The enclitic is also placed immediately after verb as illustrated in (45) and (46).

- (45) *Asurang wampai<sub>i</sub> ti ramdempe reho<sub>i</sub>*  
 asurang wang-pa-i ti ramdempe reho=i  
 pig there.2-DIST-SG FOC.SG yesterday [1SG]see=3SG
- yampa*  
 yang-pa  
 there.1-DIST-NSG  
 ‘It was Agus’ father that I saw there yesterday.’

- (46) *Buku ne<sub>j</sub> ai yona<sub>j</sub> ve haru pa*  
 buku ne ai y-ong=a ve haru pa  
 book PRX[NSG] FOC.NSG 1SG-give=3NSG for 3DU FOC  
 ‘These are books, I gave to them.’

In (45) and (46), =*i* ‘3SG’ and =*a* ‘3NSG’ are objects that cliticize to the verb *reho* ‘see’ and *ong* ‘give’ respectively. They index the NP objects which are fronted to the clause-initial pragmatic slot. The enclitics =*i* ‘3SG’ and =*a* ‘3NSG’ are only used for inanimate nouns or things. For human/animate nouns, free pronouns are cliticized to the verb (see Chapter 6).

Unlike subject, object is relativized by means of a pronominal copy strategy. In (47), the clitic =*a* ‘3NSG’ indexes the relativized object NP *wi* ‘mount’.

- (47) *a: bia na a: wi wi [veve hesawa]*  
 a ti-bia na a wi wi veve he-t-haw=a  
 INJ 3SG-go.down LOC INJ mount mount REL 3PL-PL-call=3NSG
- ve Lawari...*  
 ve Lawari  
 for Lawari  
 ‘Uh, he went down from the mount that they call it Lawari...’  
 [MARGA\_Werimon1\_EJEN 157-161]

It is ungrammatical for the object to be gapped in Wooi relative clause as in (48):

(48) \**a:*    *bia*                *na*    *a:*    *wi*    *wi*    [*veve* *hesaw*\_\_]  
          a    ti-bia                na    a    wi    wi    veve    he-t-haw  
          INJ   3SG-go.down    LOC   INJ    mount    mount    REL    3PL-PL-call

*ve*    *Lawari*  
*ve*    Lawari  
 for    Lawari  
 ‘Uh, he went down from the mount that they call it Lawari...’  
 [MARGA\_Werimon1\_EJEN 157-161]

Wooi does not have dative object alternation of the type English *I gave a book to John* vs. *I gave John a book*, or of the applicativization type as found in languages like Indonesian. The goal/recipient role of the verb ‘give’ always appears as an oblique as in (49).

(49) a.    *Andi*    *tenatu*                *surat*    *ve*    *tamani*                *na*    *Harui*  
          Andi    ti-tanatu                surat    ve    tama-n-i                na    Harui  
          Andi    3SG-send                letter    for    father-3SG.PSR-SG.PSS    LOC    Serui  
          ‘Andi sent a letter to his father in Serui.’

b.    \**Andi*    *tenatu*                *tamani*                (*na*    *Harui*) *surat*  
          Andi    ti-tanatu                tama-n-i                na    Harui    surat  
          Andi    3DG-send                father-3SG.PSR-SG.PSS    LOC    Serui    letter  
          ‘Andi sent his father a letter.’

When an object appears in SVCs, it is always an object of a transitive verb in the sequence regardless of its position. In (31), for example, the object *ay* ‘tree’ is the object of the verb *robang* ‘cut’ and not the object of all verbs in the series.

### 8.3.3. Oblique

In Wooi, obliques have the following features shown in (50):

- (50) a. The argument is always encoded by a PP;  
 b. It is placed post-verbally, either immediately following the verb or after the object NP;  
 c. It indicates particular semantic roles assigned by the verb (see Table 8.3).  
 d. It also uses pronominal copy in focus left-dislocation.

An oblique argument is always flagged by a preposition. Verbs require a certain preposition that depends on the semantic of the verb. Consider the following examples in (51) and (52).

(51) *Kavio*            *kong*    *hia*  
 kavio            kong    hia  
 [1SG]talk        COM    3PL  
 ‘I talk to them.’

(52) *Ve*    *piboki pai*                    *ve*    *hora*    *veve*    *o:*  
 ve    piboki pa-i                    ve    hora    veve    o  
 REL   kind    DIST-SG                    for    chance REL    FILL

*metona*                                    *ve*    *aru*                    *e:*    *urong*                    *tarari*  
 me-t-ong=a                                    ve    aru                    e    u-r-ong                    tarari  
 2PL-PL-give=OBJ.NSG    for    1DU.EXC                    FILL    1DU.EXC-DU-give    story

*parari*  
 parari  
 about  
 ‘Thanks for the chance given for us (two) to tell a story about...’  
 [MARGA\_Kendi1\_JEN 002- 004]

In (51), the bivalent verb *kavio* ‘talk’ requires the use of the comitative preposition *kong* ‘COM’ to mark the experiencer oblique. Thus, removing the preposition *kong* is not permitted as in (53).

(53) \**Kavio*            *hia*  
 kavio            hia  
 [1SG]talk        3PL  
 ‘I talked to them’

Whereas, in (52), the trivalent verb *ong* ‘give’ requires the preposition *ve* ‘for’ to indicate the directional/dative preposition toward the oblique.

The preposition marking an oblique marks particular semantic roles associated with the meaning of the predicate. Figure 8. 1 and examples show different preposition and related semantic roles in Woi:



Table 8. 1. Prepositions and their semantic roles associated with the predicate (verb).

Prepositions	Semantic roles
<i>ve</i> 'to', 'for'	Recipient, experiencer
<i>kong</i> 'to', 'from'	Experiencer
<i>ho</i> 'to'	Experiencer, instrument
<i>bu</i> 'toward'	Location
<i>to</i> 'to'	Location

Examples in sentences (54) to (56) illustrate the oblique with different semantic roles.

#### Recipient Oblique

- (54) *Agus tenatu surat ve neta baba na Wooi Raring*  
 Agus ti-tanatu surat ve neta baba na Wooi Rawing  
 Agus 3SG-send letter for sibling big LOC Wooi Bay  
 'Agus sent a letter to his big brother in Wooi.'

#### Addressee Oblique

- (55) *Minggus capa ve ya ra ma na*  
 Minggus ti-apa ve ya ra ma na  
 Minggus 3SG-promise to 1SG [1SG]go hither LOC

*kamcey*  
 kamcey  
 tomorrow

'Minggus promised me to come tomorrow.'

- (56) *Paya ve Jon kamcey ma ria ma*  
 paya ve Jon kamcei mara ti-ra ma  
 [1SG]tell for John tomorrow that 3SG-go hither  
 'I told John he will come tomorrow.'

In (54)-(56), the prepositional *ve* can semantically encode an oblique as a recipient as in (54) and an experiencer as in (55) and (56).

The preposition *kong* 'COM' meaning 'to/from' can function semantically to mark an oblique as an experiencer and an agent as in (57) and (58).

#### Addressee Oblique

- (57) *Kavio kong hia*  
 Kavio kong hia  
 [1SG]talk COM 3PL  
 'I talked to them.'

### Agentive Oblique

- (58) *Hemrarapa kong amay*  
 he-t-mararapa kong ama-i  
 3PL-PL-be.hit from [1SG]father-SG.PSS  
 ‘They were hit by my father.’

Prepositions such as *ho* ‘DIR’, *bu* ‘DIR’, *to* ‘to’ carry additional meanings, and along with *to*, ‘toward’ and ‘to’, and *na* ‘LOC’ are also used to mark oblique argument that encodes semantic roles, i.e. experiencer, direction and location as in (59) – (64).

### Addressee Oblique

- (59) *Poya ho i ayraki to*  
 bu-paya ho i airaki to  
 2SG-ask.for to 3SG silent PERF  
 ‘Please, ask him to be silent!’

### Directional Oblique (person)

- (60) *Ria bu hia ra*  
 ti-ra bu hia ra  
 3SG-go toward 3PL thither  
 ‘He goes to them.’

- (61) *Tepay bu i ra*  
 ti-tapai bu i ra  
 3SG-run toward 3SG thither  
 ‘He is running toward him.’

### Directional Oblique (location)

- (62) *Mamehari mambo to Asua*  
 ma-t-mehari ma-t-vo to Asua  
 1PL.EXC-PL-self 1PL.EXC-PL-row to Ansus  
 ‘We ourselves paddled (the canoe) to Ansus.’

### Locative Oblique

- (63) *Mahoy na kami vanei vavo*  
 mahoi na kami va-ne-i vavo  
 [1SG]sit LOC rock NEU-PRX-SG above  
 ‘I sit on that rock.’

### Locative Oblique

- (64) *Agus nya na Wooi Rawing*  
 Agus ti-na na Wooi Rawing  
 Agus 3SG-live LOC Wooi Rawing  
 ‘Agus lives in Wooi.’

There is no possibility for an object-oblique alternation as they are fixed in word order and in constituent category as exemplified in (65).

- (65) a. *Alex           tevayang       havaku       ve       ya*  
 Alex       ti-avayang   havaku       ve       ya  
 Alex       3SG-buy      cigarette   for       1SG  
 ‘Alex bought cigarettes for me.’
- b. \**Alex       tevayang       ya       havaku*  
 Alex       ti-avayang   ya       havaku  
 Alex       3SG-buy      1SG      cigarette  
 ‘Alex bought me cigarettes.’

Like objects, oblique arguments can be given pragmatic prominence. Thus, they are fronted and express contrastive focus. When an oblique is fronted for this reason, pronominal copy is used to realize the oblique in its basic position as in (66), in contrast to a simple basic clause as in (67).

- (66) *Haru yong           buku nei           veharu       pa*  
 haru y-ong       buku ne-i       ve=haru      pa  
 3DU 1SG-give   book PRX-SG   for=3DU      FOC  
 ‘It is them that I gave this book to.’
- (67) *Buku nei           ti yoni           ve haru pa*  
 Buku ne-i       ti y-ong=i      ve haru pa  
 Book PRX-SG   FOC.SG 1SG-give=3SG for 3DU FOC  
 ‘It is this book that I gave it to them.’

However, it is just the NP of the oblique that is fronted. The preposition remains in its syntactic position in the basic clause: fronting PP oblique is ungrammatical in Woi as in (68).

- (68) \**Ve haru yong       buku nei       pa*  
 Ve haru y-ong      buku ne-i      pa  
 for 3DU 1SG-give   book PRX-SG   FOC  
 ‘It is them that I gave this book to.’

This is evidence to show that an oblique has its fixed position, and cannot be simply fronted. Thus, Woi also does not allow more than one oblique argument in the basic clause structure. Constructions like the English sentence: *I talked about this to you*, cannot occur in Woi. To do so, the immediate non-subject argument of the verb

must be in the form of object NP without a preposition and is followed by the oblique argument, as in (69).

(69)	<i>Yo</i>	<i>paya</i>	<i>pi</i>	<i>wampai</i>	<i>ve</i>	<i>aw</i>
	y-o	paya	pi	wang-pa-i	ve	au
	1SG-want	[1SG]tell	thing	there.2-DIST-SG for		2SG
	'I want to talk about it to you.'					

### 8.3.4. Adjuncts

Adjuncts are peripheral elements which in Wooi have the characteristics shown in (70):

- (70) a. They are possibly expressed in two argument categories, i.e. NP and PP;
- b. Only the preposition *na* 'LOC' is used to mark the prepositional adjunct.
- c. When it is an NP, it is placed in pre-clausal position and when it is a PP, it is placed in post-clausal position. However, they cannot co-occur in both positions respectively.
- d. They function to provide extra information about location in general, place and time reference of the event expressed by the verb.

Adjuncts can be expressed in two forms: an NP and a PP. As an NP, an adjunct is just positioned in the clause initial position (71) and as a PP, it is positioned in the clause final position (72).

(71)	<b><i>Ramdempe</i></b>	<i>Alex</i>	<i>cong</i>	<i>buku</i>	<i>vanei</i>	<i>ve</i>	<i>Eni</i>
	ramdempe	Alex	ti-ong	buku	va-ne-i	ve	Eni
	Yesterday	Alex	3SG-give	book	NEU-PRX-SG	for	Eni
	'Yesterday, Alex gave that book to Eni.'						

(72)	<i>Alex</i>	<i>cong</i>	<i>buku</i>	<i>vanei</i>	<i>ve</i>	<i>Eni</i>	<b><i>na</i></b>	<b><i>ramdempe</i></b>
	Alex	ti-ong	buku	va-ne-i	ve	Eni	na	ramdempe
	Alex	3SG-give	book	NEU-PRX-SG	for	Eni	LOC	yesterday
	'Alex gave that book to Eni yesterday.'							

Adjuncts semantically provide extra information about location in general including event, place and time reference of events expressed by verbs in (73) and (74).

- (73) *Remuho*      *rua*    *na*    *yampa*  
 remuho      bu-ra    na    yang-pa  
 NEG.IMP    2SG-go LOC    there.1-DIST[NSG]  
 ‘Don’t go there!’ [hesokoruexp1 08]
- (74) *Asurang*      *ninei*            *hemuni*            *na*    *racune*  
 Asurang      ning-ne-i      he-t-mung=i      na    racune  
 pig            here-PRX-SG    3PL-PL-kill=3SG    LOC    last.night  
 ‘This pig, they kill last night.’

Notice that obliques and adjuncts in Wooi are syntactically quite similar. They are encoded by prepositional phrases and they are commonly placed post-verbally. They show non-core relations, e.g. structurally not adjacent to the head predicate. However, they are different in some ways. Obliques are arguments; while adjuncts are not. Obliques show the characteristic of an argument in that they are selected by the predicate and are associated with an event participant. The oblique marking prepositions are also selected by the verb they anchor to and show different semantic roles assigned by verbs. Adjuncts, however, are a peripheral unit that are free to be placed in post-clausal position or pre-clausal position. Adjuncts are also marked by just one type of preposition which is the locative preposition *na* ‘LOC’.

### 8.3.5. Complement clauses

Complements are clausal arguments. They behave either as an object or an oblique argument in Wooi. Verbs such as *paya* ‘tell/promise’, *kavio* ‘talk’, *mararising* ‘happy/agree’, *matay* ‘afraid’, *haneraho* ‘remember’, *parandeng* ‘forget’, *ora* ‘think’, *veparcaya* ‘believe’, and *vetau* ‘know’ are types of verbs that can either require an NP object or a clausal complement. The language restricts complement clauses to function as object and oblique arguments. It does not allow them to function as subject arguments.

Verbs taking complement clauses as listed above can be divided into two types: *parandeng* ‘forget’ type and *mararising* ‘agree’ type. *Parandeng* ‘forget’ type includes verbs such as *kavio* ‘talk’, *matay* ‘afraid’, *haneraho* ‘remember’, *veparcaya* ‘believe’,

and *vetau* ‘know’ that take serial verbs to construct complement clauses. They do not need any complement clause markers. Consider the following examples where the clausal argument in (75) shows the same function as the object argument as the NP in (76).

(75) *Parandeng ramdempe cong doy ho ya vaw*  
 parandeng ramdempe ti-ong doi ho ya vau  
 [1SG]forget yesterday 3SG-give money to 1SG NEU[NSG]  
 ‘I forget that yesterday he gave some money to me.’

(76) *Parandeng pi wampai na ramdempe*  
 parandeng pi wang-pa-i na ramdempe  
 [1SG]forget thing there.2-DIST-SG LOC yesterday  
 ‘I forgot that thing yesterday.’

It is shown that the verb *parandeng* ‘forget’ may take either an NP or a complement clause indicated in bold as its object.

*Mararising* type includes the verbs that take various kinds of complement clause markers to construct complement clauses. Some verbs that fall into this type are *paya* ‘tell/promise’, and *-ora* ‘think’ (see §11.3.1). With the verb *hemarising* ‘agree’, for instance, the clausal argument needs the marker *ve* to link the predicate and the clausal argument as in (77). The verb *hemarising* ‘agree’ may take two possible forms for a non-clausal argument following the verb, i.e. NP object and PP Oblique as in (78) and (79).

(77) *Kawasa hemarising ve hetong hene manu*  
 Kawasa he-t-mararising ve he-t-ong he-ne manu  
 people 3PL-PL-agree for 3PL-PL-make 3PL.PSR-POSS house  
  
*na wi vanei vavo*  
 na wi va-ne-i vavo  
 LOC hill NEU-PRX-SG above  
 ‘People agreed to build their houses on the hill.’

(78) *Kawasa hemarising ve pi wampai*  
 kawasa he-t-marising ve pi wang-pa-i  
 people 3PL-PL-agree for thing there.2-DIST-SG  
 ‘People agree to that thing.’

- (79) *Kawasa hemarising pi wampai*  
 kawasa he-t-marising pi wang-pa-i  
 people 3PL-PL-agree thing there.2-DIST-SG  
 ‘People agree about that thing.’

In (77), the complement clause functions as an oblique as evident from the prepositional marking of the clausal argument by *ve* ‘for’. It can be shown also in (78) in which the post-verbal argument is an oblique. However, the verb may also take an NP object argument as in (79). The difference is in their meaning in which the former (78) refers to a specific thing (object) and the later in (79) refers to the non-specific thing (object). As evidence in (78) and (79), the preposition *ve* as in (77) is best analyzed as a *ve*-complement that functions to link the predicate and the complement clause, although it looks like the preposition *ve* ‘for’ that also marks a dative construction in three-placed predicate constructions as discussed in §8.4.2. They are homonyms. They also look like the relativizer *ve* (see §11.3.3).

Wooi makes intensive use of serialization and preposition marking *ve* ‘for’ (equivalent to the English infinitive *to*) to construct complements. Other than that, the language does not use other grammatical markers to signal complement clauses. Further discussion on complement clauses is given in §11.3.1.

## 8.4. Grammatical alignment

### 8.4.1. Nominative-accusative alignment

The foregoing discussions especially in §8.3 provided evidence that Wooi is a nominative-accusative language where S aligns with A, as opposed to O (or P) (see Dryer 2007b: 252). Crucial evidence comes from verbal agreement marking, constituent order, relativization and subject sharing in SVCs.

Figure 8. 2 highlights the nominative-accusative alignment and the properties that mark the alignment.

	S/A	O/P
verbal agreement	Prefix on the verb (examples 5, 6, 7, 8) in §8.3.1	-
Linear order	preverbal (examples 1, 2, 3) in §8.2.	postverbal (examples 37-39) in §8.3.2.
Relativisation	Gapped (examples 33 and 34) in §8.3.1	pronominal copy (examples 45 and 46) in §8.3.2.
Always shared in SVC	yes	no

Figure 8. 1. Grammatical alignment system and relevant properties in Woori

The Nominative-Accusative alignment system in Woori is not syntactic as is the case in an accusative language like English. For example, as has been identified in §8.3 and §8.4.1, subject in Woori is not a privileged GR of subject (or pivot) like that of English. In English, subject is privileged in its GR: it is aligned for S/A and it plays a significant role in the grammar of the language, for instance in the voice system and complex clause formation. Evidence that subject in Woori is not a syntactic pivot and that Woori is not syntactically a deep accusative language is the absence of a voice system in this language.

#### 8.4.2. Three-place predicates and the alignment of P

Looking at the alignment of non-subject arguments, Woori shows that P (the object of a two-place predicate) aligns with T (the object of three-place predicate), as opposed to G of a three-place predicate. This indicates that Woori has indirective alignment (Haspelmath 2007). The following properties presented in Figure 8.3 highlight the alignment system:



	P=T	R
Constituent category	NP <i>See example (42) in §8.3.2 and example (65)a in §8.3.3</i>	PP <i>See example (65)a in §8.3.3</i>
verbal agreement	enclitic on the verb <i>See example (45) in §8.3.2 and example (67) in §8.4.3</i>	Enclitic on the Prep <i>See example (66) in §8.3.3</i>
Focus left-dislocation	Verb ...=enclitic_i <i>See examples in §8.3.2 and §8.3.3</i>	Prep... =enclitic_i <i>See examples in §8.3.3.</i>
Linear order	Adjacent postverbal <i>See example (37) in §8.3.2 and example (54) in §8.3.3</i>	Adjacent NP T <i>See example (54) in §8.3.3.</i>
Relativization	Pronominal copy following the verb <i>See example (47) in §8.3.2</i>	pronominal copy following the preposition
always shared in SVC	no	no

Figure 8. 2. Alignment of P, T, as opposed to R and their grammatical properties.

## 8.5. Summary

This chapter provides detailed description about grammatical relations in Wooi. Their properties are summarized in Figure 8. 3. Overall the pattern shows a nominative-accusative system, which treats S/A alike, in contrast to O, in terms of certain properties listed in the table. However, unlike accusative languages such as English, the subject (A/S) relation in Wooi is not a syntactic pivot. Wooi also shows different alignment system between P/T and G. It is identified as indirective alignment in which P and T are treated alike as opposed to G.

<b>Properties of grammatical relations in Woor</b>				
Grammatical Relation	S/A	O/P = T	Oblique	Adjunct
Free pronouns	NO	YES	YES	NO
Bound pronouns	Prefix	Enclitic	Enclitic	NO
Morpho-syntactic Position	Pre-verbal [SUBJ-V]	Post-verbal [V OBJ]	Post-Verbal [SUBJ-V+OBJ+ OBL]	Post-clausal [SUBJ-V+OBJ+ OBL+ADJ]
Mobility	NO	NO	NO	YES
Semantic Role	Subject, Agent, Patient, Experiencer	Object, Patient, Theme, Stimulus	Dative, recipient, Goal	Locative: noun, place, time
Pronominal copy assigned by pragmatic function	NO	YES	YES	NO
Focus/topic constructions	Free Pronoun/Bare NP	Pronominal copy	Pronominal copy	NO
Complementation	NO	YES	YES	NO
<b>Sharing argument in complex constructions:</b>				
Relativization	Gapping	Pronominal copy	Pronominal copy	NO
Serialization	Shared SUBJ	NO	NO	NO
Complex predicates	NO	Shared OBJ	NO	NO

Figure 8.3. Properties of grammatical relations in Woor.

However, like in other languages, subject (S/A) in Woor is the most neutralized relation, as it can be associated with various semantic roles i.e. agent, patient, and experiencer, whereas O is also the neutralized relation but it is not as broad as S/A. Oblique is the least neutralized relation in grammatical relations in Woor.

GRs in Woor also involve agreement. The salient nature agreement in Woor occurs between the subject marker and the verb, although it is gapped in relativization. Objects may agree with the verb in the form of a clitic but it is pragmatically motivated. It is the same as an oblique in which the clitic attaches to the preposition. This pragmatic contribution is syntactically called pronominal copy. This degree of morphologicalization, i.e. prefix vs. enclitic, states that the subject is tighter and closer to the verb than the object and oblique.

# **Chapter 9 – Valence, valency changing derivations, and related constructions**

## **9.1. Introduction**

This chapter discusses valence and valency-changing derivations in Woi. It begins by discussing some basic concepts of valence and valency changing mechanisms in §9.2. This section focuses on elaborating some of the theoretical concepts of valence and valency-changing derivations that provide the basis for analyzing valency in Woi. Section 9.3 focuses on the formal properties of valency, including coding and morpho-syntactic behaviour that can be used to define valence classes and also valency-changing operations in Woi. Section 9.4 describes how the valency classes in Woi are structured. There are five valency classes in Woi, namely avalent, monovalent, divalent, ambivalent and trivalent. Section 9.5 discusses valency-changing derivations in Woi. This section elaborates on valency-increasing and valency-decreasing operations in Woi. Finally, section 9.6 describes other constructions related to valency even though in Woi they are not really considered valency-changing operations. Yet, they provide insights into valency in Woi, especially in comparison to other languages.

## **9.2. Defining valence and valency classes**

Valence (or valency) deals with how many participants a certain lexical item logically requires. It not only deals with verbs but also other lexical items. It describes the inherent relationship of a lexical item and its arguments, i.e. the number of arguments that it can take (Mathews 2007: 3, Haspelmath and Müller-Bardey 2004, Payne 1997). Since Tesnière's (1959) dependency grammar, valency has become a

primarily syntactic term that relates to the syntax of verbs. Thus the verb becomes the centre around which the clause is organized, and the lexical contribution of the verb directly composes the syntactic constructions (Herslund 1988: 3, Mathews 2007: 3).

However, the valence and valency-changing derivations are also determined by semantic and pragmatic structures. They are syntactically and semantically determined as they capture the inherent semantic motivation of syntactic argument structures; e.g. the non-actor participant of a two-place predicate of an agentive action event could have a different syntactic realization from that of a psychological event (see §9.4.2). In addition, semantic-pragmatic properties of the participants, in particular, animacy and definiteness, have also been identified as important in governing particular valency patterns (see Payne 1997, Haspelmath and Müller-Bardey 2001 and 2004, Kettnerová and Lopatková 2009, Van Valin and LaPolla 1997: 147, Comrie 1989: 57).

The relationship between these two notions relevant to valency – semantics and syntax (see Platzack 1988, Comrie 1989: 58, Jakobsen 1988, Dixon and Aikhenvald 2000 and Payne 1997) – can be complex, subject to constraints that are specific to a particular verb or verb class. The semantic valency of the English verb *to eat*, for instance, requires two participants: the eater and the (thing) eaten. That is, there must be someone who eats and something that is eaten in the logical sense of *to eat*. However, the verb *to eat*, in its surface syntactic realization, may have only one participant that is the eater, which is the syntactic subject. This does not mean that English has two kinds of verb *to eat* in which one requires one argument and the other requires two arguments. Rather, verbs, like *to eat*, are those that apply the principle of optionality that mirrors contribution of semantic and syntax to the valency of such verbs. This is to indicate that, in most cases, both semantic and syntactic valency are intercepted by each other and have to be discussed separately.

In the traditional view, valency refers to transitivity, for which there are three basic classes based on the subcategorization of verbs: intransitive, transitive and ditransitive (see Næss 2007: 28). The subcategorization depends on valency as a syntactic notion and characterizes verbs on the basis of the realization of arguments (e.g. subject, object, and oblique). Here, I will use the terms monovalent, divalent and trivalent in conjunction with intransitive, transitive and ditransitive respectively. Monovalent (intransitive) mainly refers to verbs taking only a subject, that is, one-place predicates without an object; divalent (transitive) refers to two-place verbs taking a subject and an object; and trivalent (ditransitive) refers to three-place verbs taking a subject, an object and an indirect object (i.e. two objects) (see Dixon and Aikhenvald 2000: 3, Hill 2011: 461). Thus, valency classes of verbs can be based on these subcategorization patterns. For example, the English verbs *sleep*, *push*, and *give* fall into three different valency classes. Taking the simple notation given by Haspelmath and Muller (2001: 2), we can depict the valency classes for these verbs as follows:

- |     |  |            |
|-----|--|------------|
| (1) | <i>sleep</i><br>Valence pattern:<br>Experiencer<br>SUBJ  | Monovalent |
| (2) | <i>push</i><br>Valence pattern:<br>Agent      Patient<br>SUBJ      OBJ                                       | Divalent   |
| (3) | <i>give</i><br>Valence pattern:<br>Agent      Theme      Recipient<br>SUBJ      Direct OBJ      Indirect OBJ | Trivalent  |

English verbs in (1-3) above can be used to illustrate the three commonly described subcategorizations of verbs – monovalent, divalent and trivalent. However, a more comprehensive categorization of verbs based on valence classes is presented in Rickheit & Sichelschmidt (2007: 165) which proposes four valence classes: monovalent,

divalent, trivalent, and avalent classes, with different syntactic realizations of arguments. Rickheit & Sichelschmidt (2007:165) summarize these semantic valence classes (with some modification of argument realization in the syntactic level) as shown in Table 9.1.

Table 9.1. Possible valency classes that subcategorize verb types based on their semantic and syntactic features.

	VERB CLASS	ARGUMENTS		ENGLISH EXAMPLE
		SUBJECT	NON-SUBJECT	
a	avalent	0	0	<i>It<sup>1</sup> was raining</i>
b	monovalent	1	1 (Oblique)	<i>Holmes yawned</i> <i>I am walking with you</i>
c	divalent	1	1 (Object or Indirect Object)	<i>Holmes spotted Moriarty</i> <i>John asked for a help</i>
d	trivalent	1	2 (Object and Indirect Object)	<i>Holmes handed the letter to Watson</i> <i>Holmes handed Watson the letter</i>

Note that Table 9.1 shows different syntactic realizations of arguments in each valence class in English. The monovalent class may have verbs that just subcategorize one argument, which is the SUBJ. However, there are also monovalent verbs that can take two arguments, but the second argument must have a certain syntactic marking that indicates its semantic role as a comitative participant rather than an object participant as in (b). Divalent verbs may have a subject and an object, but the object can be realized in the forms of direct object and indirect object syntactically as in (c). Likewise, trivalent verbs can be realized with an object alternation syntactically, as in (d).

### 9. 3. Determining valence properties

In defining the relationship between verbs and their syntactic and semantic dependents, there are formal properties that are used to determine the valency classes. These are the coding and behavioural properties. Coding properties refers to any morpho-syntactic marking that is used to denote valency. Haspelmath (2005) and

<sup>1</sup> The pronoun *it* in the avalent sentence: *It was raining*, is a syntactic subject argument although it has no semantic role. Thus, avalent clauses syntactically can have a subject argument.

Malchukov et al. (2010) state that coding properties involve flagging a construction's valence in some way, such as case marking, adpositions, indexing/agreement or cross-referencing, and word order. Behavioural properties, cross-linguistically, refer to syntactic constructions that encode particular valence patterns, such as reflexives, reciprocals, passives, antipassives, causatives, resultatives, depictives, argument omissions, and various cross-clausal constructions such as control, switch-reference, raising and coordination. Languages vary in the ways in which valence is encoded within the grammar.

Coding and behavioural properties are significant in mapping verbs and their dependent arguments. They function as 'grammatical frames', that are classified by Malchukov et al. (2010) as the coding frame, the syntactic-function-frame and the role frame, and contribute to the meaning of valence. The coding frame provides information about how a language makes use of coding properties in dividing valency classes. The syntactic-function frame indicates information about behavioural properties. This may provide a frame, for instance, for how an argument is coded and shared in multi-headed predicates. The role frame provides a mechanism to map the syntactic roles and semantic roles. This grammatical frame varies among verbs to provide schemes of valency patterns and is the evidence for distinguishing valency classes. For instance, the verb stem *ong* 'to make' in Woi is classified as a transitive verb, which subcategorizes for subject and object. The subject is realized by the subject marker *y-* '1SG' on the verb, giving rise to the verb form of *yong* 'I make ...' Then, it must have an object, which is typically expressed as a post-verbal noun phrase, as in *yong manu nei* 'I made this canoe.'

A verb may have more than one role frame, however. The verb *ong* 'to make', for example, can also function as a causative verb expressing a causative, such as in (1).

(1)	<i>yong</i>	<i>vaving</i>	<i>pai</i>	<i>cawa</i>
	y-ong	vaving	pa-i	ti-tawa
	1SG-make	woman	DIST-SG	3SG-fall
	'I made the woman fall'			

In (1), it is the subject that is cross-referenced on the verb as part of the coding frame. The object of the first clause is shared with the second clause and it functions as subject in the second clause and it is marked in the same way (i.e. prefix) as the subject in the first clause. This illustrates the syntactic-function frame in the causative construction. However, the subject of the first clause and the subject of the second clause have different semantic roles with respect to the verb. That is, the subject of the verb *ong* 'make' is an Agentive Subject, while the subject of the verb *tawa* 'fall' is a Patientive Subject, even though both are coded in the same way by the verbal prefix. Note that the verb *ong* 'make' also has the behavioural property of having a subcategorization frame that requires another clause as its object argument.

These formal properties – coding and behavioural properties and the grammatical frames – coding, syntactic-function and role frames introduced by Malchukov et al. (2010) – will be used to identify valency classes in Woi.

#### **9.4. Identifying valence classes in Woi**

In Woi, verbs are classified into the five basic valency classes: aivalent, monovalent, divalent, ambivalent and trivalent. These classes are realized through three different coding properties that encode the relationship between verbs and their dependent arguments. These three coding properties are subject marking on verbs, argument alignment, and flagging (e.g., the use of prepositions).



### 9.4.1. The avalent class

Avalent verbs form a special valency class in Woori. They describe a kind of event (mostly weather events) that does not presuppose the existence of any arguments that control the event.

- (2) *Mamang miuna pay ra ma va na ning*  
 mamang miuna payna ra ma va na ning  
 rain rain.fall so [1SG]go hither [1SG]lie.down LOC here  
 ‘It is raining so I come and lie down here’ [BOBO\_production-consumption\_JEN 180]

In (2), the verb *miuna* ‘to rain’ semantically does not require an argument to control the event, and so there is no subject marking attached to the verb agreeing with the preceding NP. Rather the bare verb *miuna* ‘to rain’ is used and a non-argument NP may precede it, as does *mamang* ‘rain’ in (2). Other NPs such as *ha nei* ‘today’ can also be positioned before an avalent verb, as in (3).

- (3) *Ha nei miuna payna Jon ria pasar va*  
 ha ne-i miuna paina Jon ti-ra pasar va  
 day PRX-SG rain.fall so John 3Sg-go market NEG  
 ‘It is raining today so John didn’t go to the market.’

Other verbs that fall into this class are: *mang* ‘hot’, *repipapay* ‘cloudy’ and *perimang* ‘cold’ as in (4), (5) and (6).

- (4) *Nu mang kayra payna mahoy na ung ning*  
 nu mang kaira paina mahoi na ung ning  
 place hot very so [1SG]sit LOC below here  
 ‘It is too hot in this place so I sit below here.’

- (5) *Ramdempe vo parimang batang*  
 Ramdempe vo parimang batang  
 Yesterday FOC.NOM cold very  
 ‘It was so cold yesterday.’

- (6) *Ramieng nei repapipay payna ra to eha va*  
 Ramieng ne-i repapipay paina ra to eha va  
 Afternoon PRX-SG cloudy so [1SG]go to other NEG  
 ‘It is cloudy this afternoon so I don’t go anywhere.’

### 9.4.2. The monovalent class

This class requires one dependent argument to be associated with the verb. This sole argument is the subject. Subjects in Wooi are always expressed by prefixes to the verb. This has been discussed in detail in §8.3.1. Examples (7) and (8) show verbs that only require one argument, which is the subject.

- (7) *Sojoni antung pei hanong pei Konrad tato*  
 Sonjoni antung pe-i hano-ng pe-i Kondrad tato  
 Sonjoni child DEI-SG name-3SG.PSR DEI-SG Kondrad also
- mana antu vavati keria...*  
 mana antung va-va-i ti-karia  
 but child NEU-RED-SG 3SG-die  
 ‘Sonjoni also had a child named Konrad but the child died...’  
 [MARGA\_Horota1\_JEN 289-290]

- (8) *Mariasoyvini ririaw na Kendi mambetaw*  
 Mariasoyvini ti-ririau na Kendi ma-ve-tau  
 Mariasoyvini 3SG-marry LOC Kendi 1PL.EXC-VBLZR-know
- nye turunan pai ria ve-sampe*  
 ne-i turunan pa-i ti-ra ve-sampe  
 POSS-3SG.PSR descent DIST-SG 3SG-go VBLZ-until
- na pa va*  
 na pa va  
 LOC DIST[NSG] NEG  
 ‘Mariasoyvini married to Kendi clan so we don’t know how far her descendants go...’ [MARGA\_Horota1\_JEN 305-307]

The verb *karia* ‘die’ and *ra* ‘go’ take only a subject argument which attaches to the verb. Other verbs in Wooi that fall into this class include *ena* ‘sleep’, *apay* ‘run’, *heha* ‘cough’, and *hnuhni* ‘sick’.

Syntactically, some one-place predicate verbs may occur with a second argument. Verbs such as *tara* ‘stand’, *kavio* ‘talk’ can take a second argument that is syntactically realized as an oblique, as in (9) and (10).

- (9) *Hentara kong ya*  
 he-t-tara kong ya  
 3PL-PL-stand COM 1SG  
 ‘They stood with me.’

- (10) *Jimmi kevio kongti*  
 Jimmi ti-kavio kong=i  
 Jimmi 3Sg-talk COM=3SG  
 ‘Jimmi talked to him/her’

The single argument of some monovalent verbs has a patientive semantic role, and such an argument is still expressed as a subject and encoded by the verbal prefix. This is the only way of expressing an argument with the role of patient in the subject position in Wooi since the language does not have a voice alternation.

Some monovalent verbs require an inanimate referent, i.e. consumable fruits and/or things such as *nando* ‘banana’ and/or *glas* ‘glass’ to be the subject argument and the verbs contribute to the semantic role of the subject *nando* ‘banana’ and/or *glas* ‘glass’ as patientive subject, as in (11), (12) and (13).

- (11) *Nando meray to*  
 nando ti-marai to  
 banana 3SG-ripe PERF  
 ‘The banana has already ripened.’

- (12) *Nando maha to*  
 nando maha to  
 banana be.cooked[PL] PERF  
 ‘The bananas have been cooked already.’

- (13) *Glas beraya*  
 glas ti-baraya  
 glass 3SG-break  
 ‘The glass broke

These verbs cannot behave like divalent verbs. To do so is ungrammatical, as in (14), (15), and (16).

- (14) *\*Nehemia meray nando to*  
 Nehemia ti-marai nando to  
 Nehemia 3SG-ripe banana PERF  
 ‘Nehemia has already ripened the bananas.’

- (15) *\*Hemaha nando pe to*  
 he-t-maha nando pe to  
 3PL-PL-cook banana DEI[PL]PERF  
 ‘They have already cooked the bananas.’

- (16) \**Hembaraya*      *glas*    *pai*  
 he-t-baraya      *glas*    pa-i  
 3PL-PL-break      glass    DIST-SG  
 ‘They broke that glass.’

In order to have a human actor who initiates the event, a causative construction is used, as in (17), (18) and (19).

- (17) *Cona*      *nando*      *meray*      *to*  
 ti-ona      nando      ti-marai      to  
 3SG-cause      banana      3SG-ripe      PERF  
 ‘He/she has made the bananas ripe already.’

- (18) *Yona*      *glas*    *beraya*  
 y-ona      *glas*    ti-baraya  
 1SG-cause      glass    3SG-break  
 ‘I made the glass break.’

- (19) *Agus*    *ti*      *cong*      *bokor*    *vaw*      *haru*  
 Agus    ti      ti-ong      bokor    vau      haru  
 Agus    FOC.SG      3SG-make      bowl    NEU[NSG]      3DU

- humbaraya*      *pa*  
 hu-t-baraya      pa  
 3DU-PL-break      FOC  
 ‘It was Agus that made two bowls break.’

Unlike sentences (11) and (12), the divalent verb *rang* ‘cook’ is used when it requires two arguments, i.e. a subject and an object. The subject must be a human that controls the predicate which affects the object, as in (20).

- (20) *Hendang*      *nando*      *pe*      *to*  
 he-t-rang      nando      pe      to  
 3PL-PL-cook      banana      DEI[PL]      PERF  
 ‘They cooked (some) rice.’

### 9.4.3. The divalent class

The divalent class refers to verbs that require two arguments. The first argument is the subject and the second can be an object or an oblique (see section 8.3). The subject argument is mandatory and is always expressed by a verbal prefix, and the second argument follows the verb, see (21) and (22). Traditionally, this class is labelled as transitive verbs.

- (21) *Ainyang nei kio kavio taneng*  
 Ainyang ne-i ti-ko kavio ta-ne-ng  
 Grandfather PRX-SG 3SG-bring language 1PL.EXC.PSR-POSS-LIG
- nei payna...*  
 ne-i paina  
 PRX-SG so.that  
 ‘Grandfather brings (records) our language so that...’ [boatpreparation\_JEV 005-006]
- (22) ...*vape kovio kavio Wooi Rawing...*  
 ...vape bu-kavio kavio Wooi rawing  
 ...but 2SG-speak language Wooi bay  
 ‘...but you speak the Wooi language...’ [Katupa\_exp\_JEV 009]

Verbs in this class include *rora* ‘hit’, *haw* ‘call’, *pa* ‘wash’, *ong* ‘follow’, *reho* ‘see’, *taraho* ‘hear’ and many others.

Divalent verbs always require an NP or a free pronoun in the object position. They will have an object clitic when the NP/pronoun object is fronted to the pragmatic slot. Divalent verbs are also described as members of transitive clauses in §7.3.2. Thus, the verbs are expected to occur with an object argument, as in (23), (24) and (25).

- (23) *Muang wampai riora Agus*  
 Muang wang-pa-i ti-rora Agus=i  
 Man there.2-DIST-SG 3SG-hit Agus=3SG  
 ‘That man hit Agus’
- (24) *Agus rieho ama*  
 Agus ti-re-ho ama  
 Agus 3SG-eye-HO 1PL.EXC  
 ‘Agus saw us.’
- (25) *Agus ti muang wampai riorai pa*  
 Agus ti muang wang-pa-i ti-rora=i pa  
 Agus FOC.SG man there.2-DIST-SG 3SG-hit=3SG FOC  
 ‘It was Agus that that man hit.’

In a special case, the verb *ang* ‘to eat’ requires either an NP or a clitic in the object position in the basic clause, as in (26a) and (b). The clitic is not required for pragmatic reasons, as was described for the extended clause in §7.8.3 and focus construction in §12.5.2. Rather, having no clitic attached to the verb is ungrammatical in Wooi, as in (c).

- (26) a. *Yam pa na ramdempe*  
y-ang pa na ramdempe  
1SG-eat rice LOC yesterday  
‘I ate some rice yesterday.’
- b. *Yampi va*  
y-ang=pi NEG  
1SG-eat=something NEG  
‘I didn’t eat something.’
- c. *\*Yang va*  
y-ang va  
1SG-eat NEG  
‘I didn’t eat.’

There are also divalent verbs that require an oblique as the second argument.

Verbs such as *paya* ‘ask’, *apo* ‘tell story’, illustrated in (27) and (28), show this pattern.

- (27) *Hempaya ho i ayraki*  
he-t-paya ho i airaki  
3PL-PL-ask.for DIR 3SG silent  
‘They asked for him to be silent.’

- (28) *Yapo ve i*  
y-apo ve i  
1SG-tell.story for 3SG  
‘I told a story to him/her.’

An object argument instead of the oblique argument in sentences (27) and (28), or leaving out the oblique argument, is not grammatical in Wooi.

#### 9.4.4. The ambivalent class

There are also verbs such as *kahniow* ‘angry’ and *hay* ‘cry’ that can behave in two ways without any overt derivation. These verbs can behave like monovalent or divalent verbs, as illustrated in (29) and (30). Verbs such as *mari* ‘laugh’ and *anana* ‘scream/shout’ also fall into this class.

- (29) a. *Kehiow kira*  
ti-kahiow kira  
3SG-angry very  
‘He/she is very angry’

b. *Mantaung hia ti hengkahiow heneta*  
 mantaung hia ti he-t-kahiou he-neta  
 only 3PL FOC.SG 3PL-PL-angry 3PL.PSR-sibling

*ve moma pai pa*  
 ve moma pa-i pa  
 REL small DIST-SG FOC  
 ‘It was only them that were angry for their young brother’

(30) a. *Hay kira raria*  
 hai kira raria  
 [1SG]cry until noon  
 ‘I cried until noon’

b. *Hay i*  
 hai i  
 [1SG]cry 3PL  
 ‘I cried for him (a dead body)’

In (29) and (30a), *kahniow* ‘angry’ and *hay* ‘cry’ require one argument, the subject, which attaches to the verb, and shows self-initiation of the event. In (29b) and (30b), the second argument is the stimulus that triggers the event.

#### 9.4.4. The trivalent class

Some verbs semantically require three participants as their dependent arguments. Verbs such as *ong* ‘give’ in Wooi, license three arguments that are semantically an agent, a theme and a recipient.

(31) *Matei ramdempe cong doy ve Joni pa*  
 mate-i ramdempe ti-ong doi ve Jon-i pa  
 who-SG yesterday 3SG-give money for John-SG FOC  
 ‘Who gave the money to John yesterday?’

In terms of grammatical relations, these three arguments are subject, object and oblique. The subject marker *ti-* ‘3SG’ is prefixed to the verb *ong* ‘give’, the object is expressed by the NP *doy* ‘money’ following the verb, and the oblique PP *ve Joni* ‘to John’ follows the object. Grammatical relations and the alignment of arguments are discussed in more detail in Chapter 8.

Other verbs that fall into this class are *tanatu* ‘send’, *tarui* ‘receive’, and *ora* ‘ask for’. The oblique arguments for these verbs are also part of a prepositional phrase,

but different prepositions are licensed by each verb. So while the oblique argument of *ong* ‘to give’ is introduced by *ve* ‘for’ (28), the oblique argument of *tarui* ‘to receive’ is introduced by the locative preposition *kong* ‘from’, as in (32).

- (32) *Ana teruy surat pei kong tamang hia na Bia*  
 Ana ti-tarui surat pe-i kong tama-ng hia na Bia  
 Ana 3SG-receive letter DEI-SG from father-3SG.PSR 3PL LOC Biak  
 ‘Ana received a letter from her father and family in Biak’

Note that, except for the avalent class, each valency class organizes its argument realization in certain ways. The subject is always realized as a prefix to the verb. The non-subject arguments, which are object and oblique, are realized in different ways. The object is realized in the NP that immediately follows the verb, and the oblique is realized in a PP, which can occur either in two-place predicate sentences or in three-place predicate sentences. The occurrence of either an object or an oblique in a two-place predicate is licensed by each verb. Various prepositions that signal the oblique in a three-place predicate are also licensed by each verb (see §8.3.2 and §8.3.3).

## 9.5. Valency-changing derivations

Verbs can undergo morphological derivation by which an argument is added or removed, typically for certain semantic and pragmatic reasons. For instance, in Ainu (Haspelmath 2005: 3), the verb *ku* ‘drink’ is, in its basic form, a divalent verb as in sentence (30a). However, the prefix *i-* marks the removal of the object, changing of the valency from divalent to monovalent.

- (33) a. *Sake a-ku*  
 sake 1SG.TR-drink  
 ‘I drink sake.’  
 b. *I-ku-an*  
 DEOBJ-drink-1SG.INTR  
 ‘I drink’



Wooi has a number of mechanisms by which syntactic valence is adjusted by increasing or decreasing the number of arguments required by the predicate. The valence adjusting mechanisms in Wooi include:

1. Valency-increasing operation: applicative construction.
2. Valency-decreasing operation: passive-like verbs.

### 9.5.1. Valency-increasing operation

A valency-increasing operation is a grammatical mechanism through which an argument is added to a construction. In Wooi, this only occurs with the applicative.

An applicative is constructed morphologically in Wooi with the prefix *in-*. In terms of argument realization, the applicative marker requires that another argument, with the semantic role of instrument, is to be expressed in the sentence. The way it is expressed is by having the instrument argument fronted to the pragmatic slot, as in (34). Syntactically, the applicative construction is different from its non-applicative counterpart that basically requires an oblique instrumental argument, as in (35).

(34) *Atia nei ma ingkay ne havaku...*  
 atia ne-i mara **in**-kai ne havaku  
 fire PRX-SG that [1SG]APPL-light [1SG.PSR]POSS cigarette  
 ‘...it is this fire that I used to light my cigarette...’ [BOBO\_production-consumption\_JEN 047]

(35) *kay ne havaku ho atia nei*  
 kai ne havaku ho atia ne-i  
 [1SG]light POSS[1SG.PSR] cigarette INS fire PRX-SG  
 ‘I lit my cigarette with this fire.’

The applicative construction always places the instrument in the focus position rather than the adjunct position in the basic clause structure. It is not grammatical to have the applicative construction with the instrument argument placed in the adjunct position, as in (36).

(36) \**Inγκay ne havaku atia nei*  
 ing-kai ne havaku atia ne-i  
 [1SG]APPL-light POSS[1SG.PSR] cigarette fire PRX-SG  
 ‘I used to light my cigarette with this fire.’

As exemplified in (34) and (35), the applicative construction with *in-* is different from the other construction with the instrumental preposition *ho*. Thus, having both the applicative *-in* and the instrumental preposition *ho* together in a single sentence is ungrammatical, as in (37).

- (37) \**Ingakay*                    *ne*                    *havaku*                    *ho*    *atia*    *nei*  
       in-kai                    ne                    havaku                    ho    atia    ne-i  
       [1SG]APPL-light        POSS[1SG.PSR] cigarette        INS    fire    PRX-SG  
       ‘I lighted my cigarette with this fire.’

Unlike Papuan Malay and other languages where applicativisation can be expressed with serial verb constructions, Wooi does not have such a construction. Wooi only allows either morphological or prepositional phrase applicativisation.

### 9.5.2. Valency-decreasing operation

A valency-decreasing operation is a grammatical mechanism in which an argument is removed from a construction, and in Wooi this is done through a passive-like construction.

Although Wooi does not have a true passive construction or other morpho-syntactic derivations that decrease the valency of a predicate, there are a number of lexical pairs of verbs which show a semantic active-passive relation. For instance, the verb *rora* ‘hit’ and the verb *mararapa* ‘be.hit’ are two distinct verbs. The former is a divalent verb and the latter is a patientive monovalent verb. The verb *rora* ‘hit’ requires agentive-subject and patientive-object in the argument structure as in (38).

- (38) *Rora*                    *hia*  
       rora                    hia  
       [1SG]hit                3PL  
       ‘I hit them.’

In (39), *mararapa* ‘be.hit’ requires a single argument which is the patientive subject. In most cases, the agent is not realized at all. However, in the situation where the agent is expressed, it always follows the verb, and it must be an oblique marked by the

preposition *kong*. The structure in (39) therefore resembles a passive as the subject is a patient and the agent is an oblique.

- (39) *Hemrarapa* (kong ya)  
 he-mararapa (kong ya)  
 3PL-be.hit from 1SG  
 ‘They were hit (by me).’

Another verb that is similar to *mararapa* ‘be.hit’ is the verb *uruhara* ‘be.burnt’, which requires one argument syntactically, as in (40). This verb cannot occur with an optional oblique that expresses an agent, as in (41).

- (40) *Manu uruhara*  
 manu uruhara  
 House be.burnt  
 ‘The house was burnt.’

- (41) \**Manu uruhara* (kong muang wampai)  
 Manu uruhara kong muang wang-pa-i  
 house be.burnt from man there.2-DIST-SG  
 ‘The house was burnt by that man.’

The verb has an active verb counterpart that is distinct from *uruhara*. It is the verb *nuing* ‘burn’. This verb is a divalent verb that requires two arguments syntactically, as in (42).

- (42) *Mantaung ya nuing mane manu nei*  
 mantaung ya nuing ma-ne manu ne-i  
 only ya [1SG]burn 1PL.EXC.PSR-POSS house PRX-SG
- pa*  
 pa  
 FOC  
 ‘I am the one who burnt our house.’

The passive-like construction is very limited in Woi. This includes several monovalent verbs described in §9.4.2. While (39) appears to be the ‘passive’ counterpart of (38), we cannot say that (39) is an outcome of the passivization process as this pattern is not productive or a morpho-syntactic derivation in Woi, and so Woi does not have a voice system similar to other Austronesian languages like Indonesian.

## 9.6. Other valency-related constructions

There are two other constructions that are related to the valency of the predicate and are realized as valency-changing operations in other languages. Constructions such as causatives, reflexives, reciprocals and middles are among those that require valency-changing operations in other languages, and are often referred to as morpho-syntactic mechanisms for valency-changing operations in the literature (see Lichtenberk 1999, Gerdts 2000, Evans 2008, Evans, Levinson, Gaby and Majid 2011, and Heine and Miyashita 2008, Heine 2000).

In Woiwoi some of these constructions that relate to the valency of the verbs do not typically trigger a change in valence. These constructions, however, do contribute to the understanding of argument realizations in Woiwoi and so in this section, constructions such as reflexives and reciprocals are briefly discussed. Causatives may also be considered as a construction related to valency but since they are typically biclausal in Woiwoi, they are described in §10.4.2.1.

### 9.6.1. Reflexive constructions

#### 9.6.1.1. Prototypical reflexive construction

A reflexive construction refers to a situation in which a participant acts on himself or herself (Lichtenberk 1999: 313). In Woiwoi, the prototypical reflexive construction is marked by the reflexive marker *vaveri* ‘REFL’ plus a free personal pronoun. Following the types of reflexive markers as classified by Lichtenberk (1999), *vaveri* ‘REFL’ is a nominal reflexive, consisting of REFL+PRO, in which it shows the characteristics of nouns or pronouns in Woiwoi syntactic structure.

- (43) *Jon ria vaveri i*  
Jon ti-rora vaveri i  
John 3Sg-hit REFL 3SG  
‘John hit himself.’

In (43), *vaveri* ‘REFL’ plus the pronoun *i* ‘3SG’ are co-referent with the subject, both having the same antecedent with the reflexive marker encoding ‘self-identity’ and the pronoun encoding the person and number of the referent (cf. Cole and Hermon 2005). *Vaveri* ‘REFL’ plus the pronoun *i* ‘3SG’ behave syntactically as the object in the construction indicating that the verb *rora* ‘hit’ is a true divalent verb. All singular number person values can be encoded in the reflexive construction. In (44) and (45), the same construction occurs with the second and the first person pronouns.

(44) *Manu, ruora vaveri aw e*  
 Manu, bu-rora vaveri au e  
 Manu, 2SG-hit REFL 2SG Q  
 ‘Manu, did you hit yourself?’

(45) *Kahiow vaveri ya*  
 Kahiou vaveri ya  
 [1SG]angry REFL 1SG  
 ‘I am angry with myself.’

The construction is also used with non-singular persons. When the reflexive situation involves a non-singular participant, the reflexive marker *vaveri* ‘REFL’ occurs with the free pronouns and is again co-referential with the antecedent of the subject, as in (46).

(46) (*Mantaung*) *henda vaveri hia*  
 mantaung he-t-rora vaveri hia  
 alone 3PL-PL-hit REFL 3PL  
 ‘They hit themselves’

Note that *vaveri* ‘REFL’ plus the free pronoun functions syntactically as an object NP. Thus, it is not possible to delete the pronoun element of this composition, as in (47) and (48).

(47) *\*Jon ria vaveri*  
 Jon ti-rora vaveri  
 Jon 3SG-hit REFL  
 ‘John hit himself.’

(48) *\*Henda vaveri*  
 he-t-rora vaveri  
 3PL-PL-hit REFL  
 ‘They hit themselves.’

Examples (47) and (48) show that the REFL+PRONOUN compound is an NP that functions like an object. The object is required syntactically by the divalent verb *rora* ‘hit’, although semantically the object and the subject refer to the same entity.

Deleting the reflexive marker *vaveri* ‘REFL’ from the construction produces a different, non-reflexive, meaning. The pronouns in the subject and object positions are not co-referential but rather denote two distinct participants.

(49) *Jon ria i*  
 Jon ti-rora i  
 John 3SG-hit 3SG  
 ‘John hit him/her.’

(50) *Hendora hia*  
 he-t-rora hia  
 3PL-PL-hit 3PL  
 ‘They hit them’

For the first person singular, different forms of the pronoun in the reflexive construction have two different meanings. In (51a) and (b), the different forms correspond to the semantic difference of an expected event versus an unexpected event. The singular pronoun *yau* ‘1SG’ describes an expected event, while the pronoun *ya* ‘1SG’ describes an unexpected event. This semantic type of reflexive construction only occurs for the first singular person. There is no evidence that it is found for other persons.

(51) a. *Mantaung mari vaveri yau*  
 mantaung mari vaveri yau  
 only [1SG]laugh REFL 1SG.EXP  
 ‘I laughed at myself expectedly.’

b. *Mantaung mari vaveri ya*  
 mantaung mari vaveri ya  
 only [1SG]laugh REFL 1SG  
 ‘I laughed at myself unexpectedly.’

### 9.6.1.2. Reflexive verbs and object-like argument

There is one verb in the corpus that carries a reflexive meaning without *vaveri* ‘REFL’ in the construction. The verb is *kapataba* ‘stumble down’ which syntactically requires the subject and object to be realized in the sentence, as in (52) and (53).

(52) *Tangkapataba*                      *tata*  
 ta-t-kapataba                      tata  
 1PL.INC-PL-stumble.down        1PL.INC  
 ‘We stumbled down’

(53) *Kopataba*                      *aw*  
 bu-kapataba                      au  
 2SG-stumble.down                2SG  
 ‘You stumbled down.’

The object arguments, *tata* ‘1PL.INC’ and *aw* ‘2SG’ refer to the same participant as the subject prefixes. It can be shown that the object argument with *kapataba* ‘to stumble down’ is indeed syntactically an object, rather than the subject argument in a construction that involves some kind of syntactic reordering of the argument or fronting of the verb. This can be demonstrated by considering the examples in (54) and (55).

(54) \**Tangkapataba*  
 ta-t-kapataba  
 1PL.INC-PL-stumble.down  
 ‘We stumbled down.’

(55) *Tata*                      *tangkapatabatata*                      *pa*  
 tata                      ta-t-kapataba= tata                      pa  
 1PL.INC                      1PL.INC-PL-stumble.down=1PL.INC                      FOC  
 ‘Those are we that stumbled down.’

It is shown in (54) that deleting the object pronoun *tata* ‘1PL.INC’ is ungrammatical in Woi. This means that *tata* must be overtly expressed in the clause, unlike other subject arguments which can be expressed solely by the subject prefix. Rather this post-verbal pronoun is co-referent with the subject antecedent and so the construction shows a reflexive meaning. In (55), *tata* is placed in pre-verbal position and it behaves in the same way as a focused object that has been fronted to the pragmatically-defined slot in the extended clause structure. Thus, the pronominal copy remains filling the object position in the basic clause structure. Again, pre-verbal *tata*

and its pronominal copy, and the subject prefix all encode the same participant. Thus, the whole construction denotes a reflexive event.

The verb *kapataba* ‘stumble down’ is a monovalent verb semantically. However, syntactically it appears as a transitive verb. If in this construction the subject and object arguments refer to two different participants as with other divalent verbs, it is ungrammatical, as in (56).

- (56) \**Kepataba*                      *ya*  
       *ti-kapataba*                      *ya*  
       3SG-stumbled.down        1SG  
       ‘He/she stumbled me down.’

In order to take an agent that semantically describes the agentive-patientive relations of a divalent verb, a causative construction is required. The causative is a mechanism to add valency to this construction as in (57).

- (57) *Cona*                      *kapataba*                      *ya*  
       *ti-ona*                      *kapa-taba*                      *ya*  
       3SG-cause                [1SG]turn.up.side.down        1SG  
       ‘He/she made me turn upside down.’

### 9.6.2. Reciprocal constructions

Reciprocal constructions describe a situation where two participants act upon each other, possibly at the same time and with equal behaviour (e.g. They saw each other). According to Heine (2000: 3), reciprocals refer to situations where there are two participants, A and B, and where the relation in which A stands to B is the same as that in which B stands to A.

In Woi, there are two different reciprocal constructions, simply called Reciprocal Types 1 and 2. Both are syntactically expressed without reciprocal morphology on the verb, and Type 1 is more common than Type 2.

Type 1 reciprocals occur with transitive verbs, and are characterized by having a non-singular object with the same referential features as the subject. Semantically,



therefore, both subject and object arguments represent the same participants; hence the reciprocal meaning arises. This is exemplified in (58) and (59).

(58) *Humung haru na ramdempe*  
 hu-r-mung haru na yesterday  
 3DU-DU-fight 3DU LOC yesterday  
 ‘Those two fought each other yesterday’

(59) *Hengkahiow hia*  
 he-t-kahiou hia  
 3PL-PL-angry 3PL  
 ‘They are angry with each other’

The sentences in (58) and (59) cannot be constructed when the participant of subject is singular and the non-singular participant is expressed within a comitative prepositional phrase. Thus, (60) is ungrammatical in Woi. The sentence in (60) is not grammatically correct as a reciprocal construction.

(60) \**Jon miung kong Agus na ramdempe*  
 Jon ti-mung kong Agus na ramdempe  
 John 3SG-fight COM Agus LOC yesterday  
 ‘John fought with Agus yesterday.’

When two participants (proper names) are introduced, they have to be equally the subject of the sentence as in (61).

(61) *Jon kiong Agus humung haru na ramdempe*  
 Jon ti-kong Agus hu-r-mung haru na ramdempe  
 John 3SGCOM Agus 3DU-DU-fight 3DU LOC yesterday  
 ‘John and Agus fought each other yesterday.’

The verb *ariu* ‘meet’ can also be considered as a Type 1 reciprocal when the event is expected, as illustrated in (62). However, the Type 2 reciprocal construction is used when the event is unexpected, as described below.

(62) *Hurariu haru*  
 hu-r-ariu haru  
 3DU-DU-meet 3DU  
 ‘They with met each other’ [expected event]

The Type 2 reciprocal is similar to the reflexive construction in that it uses the reflexive marker *vaveri* ‘REFL’. The whole construction shows the reciprocal meaning due to the non-singularity of the subject and the fact that the subject is co-referential

with the object. The nature of the event expressed by the verb is one where the reflexive meaning is unlikely or not possible. For instance, in (63), as opposed to (62), the subject is non-singular (*hu-* ‘3DU’) and the verb is *ariu* ‘meet’ and the object *haru* ‘3DU’ is coreferential with the subject, and this gives rise to a reciprocal meaning (‘meet each other’) as the reflexive meaning (‘the two meet themselves’) does not make sense. The semantic difference between the use of this type of reciprocal construction and that shown in (63) is that the Type 2 structure indicates that the event described is an unexpected one.

- (63) *Hurariu vaveri haru*  
 hu-r-ariu vaveri haru  
 3DU-DU-meet REFL 3DU  
 ‘Those two met each other’ [unexpected event]

If there is a singular subject this does not trigger a reciprocal meaning. Thus, it cannot take the reflexive marker *vaveri* ‘REFL’ in regards to a reciprocal activity. It is ungrammatical in Wooi, as in (64).

- (64) \**Yariu vaveri aw*  
 y-ariu vaveri au  
 1SG-meet REFL 2SG  
 ‘I met each other with you’

However, a singular subject is possible in transitive sentence as in (65). Having an oblique argument in such a construction is ungrammatical, as in (66).

- (65) *Yariu aw*  
 y-ariu au  
 1SG-meet you  
 ‘I met you.’
- (66) \**Yariu kong aw*  
 y-ariu kong au  
 1SG-meet COM 2SG  
 ‘I met with you’

# Chapter 10 – Serial verb constructions

## 10.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses serial verb constructions in Woi. It focuses on describing the formal and semantic properties of serial verb constructions (SVCs). Serial verb constructions are grammatical structures that involve series of verbs that conceptualize a single event in a clause. Series of verbs in some ways require argument structures that are often considered complex. This fact leads to various opinions on whether SVCs are simply a separate construction or if they are a series of complex predicates. There is no single agreement in the literature about whether SVCs and complex predicate belong in one conceptual domain. There are a number of different schools of thoughts on these two grammatical structures. Some look at them as one grammatical concept, but others distinguish such concepts (Svenonius 2008: 47). However, they all agree that SVCs and complex predicates fall into a predicative installation within a monoclausal. Monoclausality then becomes the main property to look at how the two concepts are structured in languages (Foley and Olson 1985, Alsina et al. 1997, Mohanan 1997, Amberber et al. 2010, and Butt 2010). Argument structure in SVCs and complex predicates also becomes a significant element in predicative structure. Both constructions whether SVCs or complex predicates involve complex argument structures (Senft 2008, van Staden and Reesink 2008, Dol 1999, Baker 1989, Foley and Olson 1985). However, regardless of the predicate complex and argument structure, series of verbs with their argument structures in Woi are treated as serial verb constructions.

This chapter is organized as follows: an overview of SCVs is presented in §10.2. Section 10.3 focuses on monoclausality of SVCs in Wooi. This section discusses diagnostic tests for monoclausality of SVCs. Section 10.4 discusses types of SVCs based on their formal coding properties. Section 10.5 discusses types of SVCs based on their semantic relations. In section 10.6, some issues of complex phrasal verbs are discussed.

## **10.2. Serial verb constructions (SVCs)**

SVCs are defined as sequences of verbs occurring in a single clause that share the same arguments and are not formally subordinated by any conjunction words (see van Staden and Reesink 2008, Collins 1997, Durie 1997, Osam 1997, Lane 2007). Further, in her definition of SVCs, Aikhenvald (2006:1) characterizes SVCs as follows:

- a. They are a single predicate consisting of a sequence of verbs that semantically act together;
- b. There are no overt markers to interrupt the sequence of events represented by the verbs such as coordination, subordination, or syntactic dependency of any other sort;
- c. They are conceptualized as a single event;
- d. They are monoclausal and have the same intonational properties as those of a mono-verbal clause;
- e. They may also share the same core and other arguments;
- f. They share the same grammatical properties of TAM and polarity value.

Two key issues in most of the definitions are that the series of verbs represents a sequence of events (represented by each verb in the sequence) as a single predicate, and that the verbs are not subordinate to one another. Thus series of verbs in SVCs describe a single notional event and no conjunctions can be inserted between the verbs (see

Aikhenvald 2006, van Staden and Reesink 2008, Aboh 2009, and Bowden 2001). Studies on serialization also agree that SVCs involve a particular kind of argument structure. Further, Aboh (2009: 3) stands against the Argument-Sharing Hypothesis that claims a SVC as a construction that must share an internal argument. He argues that an SVC must have the followings: a) the verbs in SVCs “share” the same arguments, b) SVCs tend to force a “single event” reading, c) the series of verbs must associate with a single tense specification, and d) series of verbs do not require a conjunction. His idea goes along with Foley and Olson (1985: 18) who state that an SVC requires all verbs in the series share a common actor or object, with no intervening conjunctions. Another common feature in SVCs is that all verbs in serialization must take the same inflections, including argument marking, TAM, voice, polarity, and so on (see Aikhenvald 2006, van Staden and Reesink 2008).

Senft (2008) classifies SVCs into several types – independent, dependent, co-dependent and complex. All types are classified based on structural and coding features of serial verbs and argument structure. Independent serialization is characterized as a construction that each verb in the sequence is fully inflected and can take the complete range of verbal inflectional morphology, including subject agreement and TAM marking. Dependent serialization, on the other hand, is a construction in which only one of the verbs in the sequence is fully inflected, while the other verbs occur as bare verb forms. They are thus dependent on the inflected verb, which carries all the grammatical information. Co-dependent serialization deals with series of verbs that are not juxtaposed but are separated by argument sharing as exemplified in (3). These three types can be illustrated in the following examples from Tidore and Papuan Malay:

**Tidore** (van Staden and Reesink 2008: 23).

- (1) ...*ui*    *ngge*                    *ngone fo-tagi*            *fo-oro*            *ino*  
           sand    3NH:there            1PL    1PL:INC:A-go    1PL:INC:A-fetch this:way
- fo-wohe*            *wange*  
           1PL:INC-dry            sun  
 ‘... the sand we go fetch it here (and) dry it in the sun.’

**Papuan Malay** (Sawaki 2004)

- (2) *Orang*    *dong=datang*    *bawa pulang*            *dong=pu*            *anak yang*  
           person    3PL=come            bring    return.home            3PL=POSS            anak    REL
- de=sakit*            *itu*            *kemarin*  
           3SG=sick            that            yesterday  
 ‘People came and took home their child who was sick yesterday.’
- (3) *Meri*    *de=bikin*            *de=manangis*  
           Mary    3SG-make            3SG=cry  
 ‘Mary made him/her cry.’

The Tidore example in (1) shows independent serialization in which all the verbs in the sequence take prefixed-subject marking indexing the same subject referent. In (2), the Papuan Malay example illustrates dependent serialization, in which only the first verb takes the subject marking, and the other two verbs are not inflected and rely on the first verb for their grammatical information. In (3), two verbs *bikin* ‘make’ and *manangis* ‘cry’ are co-dependent and are separated by the object argument of the verb ‘make’ and it is shared as the subject argument of the second verb.

In terms of argument structure, both sentences (1) in Tidore, (2) and (3) in Papuan Malay provide evidence of all verbs in an SVC sharing one core argument that are the subject and/or the object. In (1), the subject *fo-* ‘1PL:INC’ is shared and is overtly marked on individual verbs in the series. In (2), the subject *dong=* ‘3PL’ is shared by all verbs in the series although it is only overtly marked on the first verb. In (3), *de* ‘3SG’ is shared by the verbs ‘make’ and ‘cry’.

Considering the definition of SVCs (Aikhenvald 2006) that SVCs are characterized by sharing the same subject, examples given in (1) and (2) fall into the

definition but in (3), it does not share the same subject. Instead, the object is an argument of both the first verb and the second verb in the serial construction. The object of the first verb becomes the subject of the second verb that reflects the SVC characteristic of argument sharing. Thus, considering the surface verb structure in which all examples show characteristics of sequences of verbs, examples (1), (2) and (3) are all SVCs. Thus, constructions such as in (1) and (2) are considered as the ‘true’ SVC type; while the construction in (3) is considered as the ‘pseudo’ SVC type. These two types of SVCs are basically distinguished on the basis of two typological relations of formal coding properties and semantic dependency between verbs.

Regarding formal coding properties, all types of SVCs share the same properties, namely:

- i. Series of verbs in which each verb is adjacent to each other (V1, V2, V3)
- ii. Each verb in the series is independent semantically and describes a complex sequence of events. Each verb can stand by itself syntactically.
- iii. All verbs in the series must share the same subject whether they are overtly marked or not.

Regarding the semantic dependency, all types of SVCs might be different, in terms of:

- i. The semantic relation between the event one (verb one) and the following event (verb two) in which one verb requires the presence of another in its surface syntactic structure. The second event (verb two), for instance, is semantically dependent to the first event (verb one).
- ii. The semantic relation between verb one and verb two is shown by the argument sharing.

On the basis of these formal coding properties and semantic relation, SVCs in Wooi are described.

### 10.3. Monoclausality of SVCs in Wooi

Section 10.2 indicates that monoclausality is a hallmark of analyzing SVCs. Thus, testing any possible constructions as monoclausal is important. Coordination, negation, questions, TAM, person marking, relative clauses and focus constructions can be used as monoclausality tests of SVCs in Wooi.

Serial verb constructions do not allow any kinds of conjunctions to link verbs or predicates in the clause. In (4), the serial verbs, in bold, cannot be intercepted by a conjunction. The SVC semantically describes one complex sequential event of putting something into something. It is ungrammatical to have a conjunction such as *mara* ‘then’ in between verbs as in (5).

- (4) ...*Mae wona katung nei con cuva*  
 mae wona katung ne-i ti-ong ti-tuva  
 but dog small PRX-SG 3SG-give 3SG-go.after
- riukami nei ho toples rorang nei pa*  
 riukami ne-i ho toples rarong ne-i paina  
 [1/3SG.PSR]head PRX-SG DIR jar inside PRX-SG so  
 ‘...but this small dog put its head into the jar so that ...’  
 [frogstory2\_JK\_JEN 018-019]

- (5) \**Mae wona katung nei con mara cuva*  
 mae wona katung ne-i ti-ong mara ti-tuva  
 but dog small PRX-SG 3SG-give then 3SG-go.after
- riukami nei ho toples rorang nei pa*  
 riukami ne-i ho toples rarong ne-i paina  
 [1/3SG.PRS]head PRX-SG DIR jar inside PRX-SG so  
 ‘...but this small dog put its head into the jar so that ...’ [frogstory2\_JK\_JEN 018-019]

Likewise, resultative-causative constructions in Wooi do not either require any overt conjunction to link two predicates. As a monoclausal structure, only argument sharing is the mechanism to link both predicates as a complex event.

- (6) *Tuantetari cawa*  
 bu-tang-teta=i t-tawa  
 2SG-push-down=3SG 3SG-fall  
 ‘You knock him down to the ground.’



When a conjunction is used, it is not a complex predicate any more. Rather, they are two simple predicates in two different clauses in a sentence, as in (7).

- (7) *Tuantetari*                      *payna cawa*  
 bu-tang-teta=i                      paina t-tawa  
 2SG-push-down=3SG                so.that 3SG-fall  
 ‘You knock him so he fell down.’

Negation is another test to show whether SVCs are monoclausal. In Wooi, negation is encoded by the post-clausal negative particle *va* ‘NEG’. Like other mono-verbal predicates, the negative particle *va* ‘NEG’ is used to negate the whole proposition in the clause, including the predicates. In (8), the negative particle *va* ‘NEG’ negates the whole preposition, including serial verbs. If we compare to sentence (9), the same negative particle *va* ‘NEG’ only negates the second clause after the conjunction *mae* ‘but’ but it does not negate the first clause, which is a positive clause.

- (8) [*Ramdempe*    *Jon*    *ria*    *riuva*                      *ay*    *vane*                      *ma*] *va*  
 ramdempe            Jon    ti-ra    ti-ruva                      ai    va-ne                      ma    va  
 yesterday            John    3SG-go 3SG-lift                      wood    NEU-PRX[NSG]    hither    NEG  
 ‘Yesterday, John did not go to pick up the wood to here.’

- (9) *Racune*                      *Agus*    *riama*                      *ho*                      *manu nei*    *mae*  
 Racune                      Agus    ti-ra=ma                      ho                      manu ne-i    mae  
 Last.night                      Agus    3SG-go-hither                      DIR.REAL                      house    PRX-SG but  
  
 [*cena*                      *na*    *nei*]                      *va*  
 ti-ena                      na    ne-i                      va  
 3SG-sleep                      LOC    PRX-SG                      NEG  
 ‘Last night, Agus came to this house but he didn’t sleep here.’

Like in (8) and (9), the negative particle *va* ‘NEG’ is also used to negate the whole preposition in constructions such as causatives and resultatives, as in (10) and (11).

- (10) [*Cona*                      *kahiw*                      *i*]    *va*  
 Ti-ona                      kahiou                      i    va  
 3SG-cause                      [1SG]angry                      3SG    NEG  
 ‘He/she does not cause me to be upset to him/her.’

- (11) *Ani*    *cetuva*                      *hia*    *hendoi*                      *va*  
 Ani    ti-atuva                      hia    he-t-roi                      va  
 Ani    3SG-ask                      3PL    3PL-PL-sing                      NEG  
 ‘Ani did not ask them to sing.’

Questions that require a yes/no answer can also be used to investigate SVCs. In Wooi, yes/no questions are marked by the question particle *e* ‘Q’, which is also a clause-final particle. It gives an interrogative meaning to the whole proposition of the clause as in (12), (13) and (14).

(12) *Heto henda to wi pei e*  
 He-t-o he-t-ra to wi pe-i e  
 3PL-PL-want 3PL-PL-go to mount DEI-SG Q  
 ‘Do they want to go up to the mount?’

(13) *Agus conane hene manu metota e*  
 Agus ti-onane he-ne manu ti-matota e  
 Agus 3SG-cause 3PL.PSR-POSS house 3SG-mess Q  
 ‘Did Agus cause their house to be messy?’

(14) *Mate henda muang pai cawa e*  
 Mate he-t-rora muang pa-i ti-tawa e  
 Who[NSG] 3PL-PL-hit man DIST-SG 3SG-fall Q  
 ‘Who hit the man fall?’

In Wooi, TAM values are not marked morphologically within the verbal phrase, but rather they are marked syntactically by particles and adverbials that indicate the time reference of an event. These TAM adverbials and particles can be used to attest whether a sequence of verbs forms an SVC. Adverbs indicating time reference are always placed sentence-finally or sentence-initially. Aspectual particles such as ‘PERF’ are also post-clausal particles. When they are in a clause, their scope is to project time reference to the whole proposition in a clause or a sentence as in (15), (16) and (17).

(15) *Riama yewe ya na ne manu vati*  
 ti-ra=ma ti-yawe ya na ne manu va-i  
 3SG-go=hither 3SG-look.for 1SG LOC POSS[1SG.PSR] house NEU-SG

*na ramdempe*  
 na ramdempe  
 LOC yesterday  
 ‘He came to look for me in my house yesterday.’

(16) *Henda hemahoy hendoy na wampa ra to*  
 he-t-ra he-t-mahoi he-t-roi na wang-pa ra to  
 3PL-go 3PL-sit 3PL-sing LOC there.2-DIST[NSG] thither PERF  
 ‘They have gone singing there.’



- (21) [[*Veve yo ra robani*]  
REL y-o ra robang=i  
REL 1SG-want [1SG]go [1SG]cut=3SG
- vanei*                      *vo*                      *ay*                      *ninei*  
va-ne-i                      vo                      ai                      ning-ne-i  
NEU-PRX-SG                      FOC.NOM                      tree                      here-PRX-SG  
‘The one that I am going to cut is this tree’

The focus construction is also a good test to see whether SVCs is monoclausal.

The position of serial verbs within the focus element, i.e. the focused NP and the focus particle *pa* ‘FOC’, indicates that the series of verbs are in one clause, as in (22) and (23).

- (22) *Ay ninei ti [yo ra*  
ai ning-ne-i ti y-o ra  
tree here-PRX-SG FOC.SG 1SG-want [1SG]go
- robani ] pa*  
robang=i pa  
[1SG]cut=3SG FOC  
‘It is this tree that I am going to cut.’

- (23) *Jon hia [taraho hengkavio] pa*  
Jon hia tara-ho he-t-kavio pa  
John 3PL [1SG]hear-HO 3PL-PL-talk FOC  
‘Those are John and associates that I heard them talking.’

Having other elements to be inserted in between the primary predicate and the secondary predicate such as an adverb of time is ungrammatical in Wooi as in (24).

- (24) \**Jon hia taraho ramdempe hengkavio pa*  
Jon hia tara-ho ramdempe he-t-kavio pa  
John 3PL [1SG]hear-HO yesterday 3PL-PL-talk FOC  
‘Those are John and associates that I hear them talking yesterday’

#### 10.4. Formal coding and semantic-relation properties

In Wooi SVCs are a grammatical feature that speakers use intensively to describe complex, but sequential events. This is a discourse strategy to tighten up every event represented by each verb in relation to each other. There are two coding properties that must be taken into account in describing SVCs in Wooi:

- i. Structure of SVCs: Woi allows two to seven verbs in juxtaposition regardless of whether they share the same subject marking or not.
- ii. There are two types of SVCs on the basis of formal coding and semantic relations. They are true SVCs and pseudo-SVCs.
- iii. True SVCs have two ways of coding subject marking. First, the independent type (for simplicity it is called Type 1) is that the subject is overtly marked on each verb in serialization. Second, the dependent type (Type 2) is that the subject is only overtly marked on the first verb of the series, but not on the other verbs. Thus, these subsequent verbs are dependent on the first verb for subject marking. In regards to these two types of subject markings in SVCs in Woi, the terms used by van Staden and Reesink (2008) are used. The semantic differences between Type 1 and Type 2 are further described in §10.4.1.
- iv. Pseudo-SVCs also use the structure of serialization but the difference is that the same subject is not shared by each verb, rather there is an argument sharing in which the object of the first event (verb 1) becomes the subject of the second event (verb 2).

### **10.4.1. True SVCs**

#### **10.4.1.1. Type 1**

In Woi, most examples of SVCs are members of the true SVC Type 1. They are independent in two senses. First, SVCs consist of independent verbs that can stand by themselves syntactically and semantically. Second, morphologically, they are independent serializations in which the subject argument is marked overtly on each individual verb in the sequence. This type is more productive and common in Woi, as illustrated in (25).

- (25) ...*vo*     *tatapay*     *ra*     *tasua*                     *Asua*   *rea*  
           *vo*    *ta-t-apai*        *ra*    *ta-t-hua*                     *Asua*   *rea*  
           because 1PL.INC.PL-run thither 1PL.INC.PL-enter        *Ansus*   *again*  
           ‘...because we will go there and will stop in Ansus again.’ [boatpreparation\_JEV]

In (25), two verbs in serialization take the overt subject marker. It is the same subject that is marked on all verbs. The two verbs in the series are semantically independent so they are obligatorily marked with the subject marker. Deleting the subject marker in all verbs or one of the verbs in this construction is ungrammatical as in (26).

- (26) \*...*vo*                     *tatapay*        *ra*     *hua*    *Asua*   *rea*  
           *vo*                     *ta-t-apai*        *ra*     *hua*    *Asua*   *rea*  
           because                1PL.INC.PL-run thither enter    *Ansus*   *again*  
           ‘...because we will go there and will stop in Ansus again.’ [boatpreparation\_JEV]

SVCs of this type are productive with respect to number of verbs in serialization. They can range from two up to seven verbs in the series. Two and three verbs in sequence are common. However, in texts, SVCs can have more than three verbs in sequence. In (27), SVCs consist of three verbs in a juxtaposition. They all take the same subject marker.

- (27) *Hiuntaray*    *pe*                     *humbekoru*                     *hunda*                     *hungko*  
       *hinyontarai*    *pe*                     *hu-r-ve-koru*                     *hu-r-ra*                     *hu-r-ko*  
       person            DEI[NSG]                3DU-DU-VBLR-two                3DU-DU-go                3DU-DU-take  
  
       *ya*     *na*     *Wooi*   *rawi*  
       *ya*     *na*     *Wooi*   *rawing*  
       1SG    LOC    *Wooi*   *bay*  
       ‘There were two persons came and took me in Wooi...’ [JKirihio\_JEN 013]

In (28), when the speaker tells about a story in which an ancestor of Werimon clan was caught and brought as a slave to Rumberpon Island, he tends to tighten up all sequential events represented in seven verbs by using SVCs. All verbs are marked with the same subject marker *he-* ‘3PL’.

- (28) *a:*    *ray*    *vati*            *conane*        *a:*    *hemberay*            *ra*  
a        rai        va-i            ti-onane        a        he-t-ve-rai            ra  
FILL    war        NEU-SG        3SG-cause        FILL    3PL-PL-VBLZ-war        thither
- hentapuri*                    *hengkori*                    *hembo*            *ma*  
he-t-tapu=i                    he-t-ko=i                    he-t-vo            ma  
3PL-PL-catch=3SG            3PL-PL-bring=3SG            3PL-PL-paddle    hither
- hembesampe*                *hembo*                    *ma*    *hemahi*                    *a:*  
he-t-ve-sampe                he-t-vo                    ma    he-t-mahi                    a  
3PL-PL-VBLZ-arrive        3PL-PL-paddle            hither 3PL-PL-arrive        FILL
- nu*    *ve*    *hano*    *Rumberpon*  
nu    ve    hano    Rumberpon  
island REL    name    Rumberpon  
‘...uh, the war caused they went for war, they caught him and brought him by  
paddling canoe and arrived in the Island called Rumberpon.’  
[MARGA\_Werimon1\_EJEN 012-021]

In (28), the discourse particle *a:* ‘FILL’ functions to signal the boundary of SVCs. It appears in the beginning and at the end of the SVCs. It shows the boundary of the intonation unit of SVCs. It is also shown in (28) that series of verbs can also include the verbal deictic particles such as *ra* ‘thither’ and *ma* ‘hither’, which indicate directionality of the events (actions) denoted by the main verbs such as *ve-ray* ‘go to war’ and *vo* ‘paddle’. It is only the main verbs that take the subject marker, except the deictic particles. The subject markers indicate that it is the same subject (person and number) that is marked on all verbs. This goes along with the characteristic of person marking stated by Aikhenvald (2006) that serialization always encodes the same subject. The directional particle and its complexity within a phrasal verb is further discussed in §10.5.

#### 10.4.1.2. Type 2

Type 2 SVCs are SVCs that are dependent in serialization. It is only the first verb that is inflected, while the other verb appears in its ‘bare’ form without any inflection. Typically, verbs in dependent serialization employ argument sharing such that they all share the same subject, which is overtly subject marked on the first verb. In

Wooi, it is always the second verb in the serialization that is dependent and the first verb is always independent as in (29) and (30).

- (29) ...*Ingakayteri* *mambavu* ***tatera*** *vape*  
 ingkai<sup>t</sup>teri ma-t-vavu tatera vape  
 then 1PL.EXC-PL-leave separate but  
 ‘...then we will leave each other...’ [villagemeeting\_finalplayer\_JEV\_086]

- (30) *Hempiapa* *na* *Nunoyndaw* *hembo* ***rurana*** *ma*  
 he-t-piapa na Nunoindau he-t-vo rurana ma  
 3PL-PL-arrive LOC Miosnum 3PL-PL-paddle follow.coast.line hither  
 ‘They arrived at Misonum Island and paddled along the coast toward here [Wooi]’ [MARGA\_Werimon\_JEV]

As in (29) and (30), the verbs *tatera* ‘separate’ and *ruran* ‘follow the coast line’ are unmarked with the subject marker and they are dependent on the verbs *vavu* ‘leave’ and *vo* ‘paddle’ which are independent. Having the same subject overtly marked on the second verbs is ungrammatical, as in (31) and (32).

- (31) \**Ingakayteri* *mambavu* ***mantatera*** *vape*  
 ingkai<sup>t</sup>teri ma-t-vavu ma-t-tatera vape  
 then 1PL.EXC-PL-leave 1PL.EXC-PL-separate but  
 ‘...then we will leave each other...’ [villagemeeting\_finalplayer\_JEV\_086]

- (32) \**Hempiapa* *na* *Nunoyndaw* *hembo* ***hendurana*** *ma*  
 he-t-piapa na Nunoindau he-t-vo he-t-ruran ma  
 3PL-PL-arrive LOC Miosnum 3PL-PL-paddle 3PL-PL-follow.coastline hither  
 ‘They arrived at Misonum Island and paddled along the coast toward here [Wooi]’ [MARGA\_Werimon\_JEV]

In SVCs, a dependent verb always brings an adverbial meaning, explaining the action done by the independent verb. For instance, *ruran* ‘follow the coastline’ functions as an adverbial verb to explain how the action of canoeing is done, rather than giving another action activity. Thus, it is unmarked with the subject marker. Verbs functioning as adverbs is just restricted to Type 2 SVCs. It does not mean that semantically these verbs have their own classes.

However, the verb *ruran* ‘follow the coastline’ can independently stand as a main verb and take the subject marker as other verbs when it does not follow any verb as in



(33). In (33), the following serialization is also dependent serialization as the verb *kutu* ‘cut off’ is dependent on the verb *tuva* ‘propel boat’ in term of argument structure.

- (33) *Hendurang*                    *ma*    *o:*            *hentuva*                    *kutua*            *na*  
 he-t-rurang                    ma    o    he-t-tuva                    kutu=a            na  
 3PL-PL-follow.coastline    hither    FILL    3PL-PL-propel.boat            cut.off=OBJ    LOC
- a:*            *Ponantavay*    *ma*    *o:*  
 a            Ponantavai    ma    o  
 FILL    Ponantavai    hither    FILL
- ‘They followed the coastline and crossed the strait from Ponantavay (to Yapen Island)’<sup>1</sup> [MARGA\_Werimon\_JEV]

The same structure occurs when a dependent verb functioning as an adverbial verb occurs in between two independent verbs. It functions to modify the first independent verb, as in (34).

- (34) *Hetena*            *vekosa*            *hendingnamo*            *pi*    *ey*    *va*  
 he-t-ena            VBLZ-deep            he-t-rinamo            pi    ei    va  
 3PL-PL-sleep    deep            3PL-PL-not.yet.know    thing    one    NEG
- ‘They were in a deep sleep and did not know anything’

In some cases, an object clitic may follow the dependent verb in the series. However, it is not morphologically motivated; rather it is pragmatically triggered. This is further discussed and exemplified in §12.4.2.

- (35) ...*mae*            *wona*    *mey*                    *rurang*            *mey*  
 mae            wona    ti-mahai                    rurang            ti-mahai  
 but            dog    3SG-sit                    be.in.parallel    3SG-sit
- na*    *kami*    *ru*    *vat*            *hinyong*            *katung vetaw*                    *va*  
 na    kami    ru    va-i            hinyong            katung ve-tau                    va  
 LOC    stone    stem    NEU-SG    child            small    [3SG]VBLZ-know                    NEG
- pa*    *mey*                    *ma*    *hia*                    *heharai...*  
 payna    ti-mahai                    mara    ti-ha                    hehara=i  
 so.that    3SG-sit                    then    3SG-call                    search=3SG
- ‘...but the dog is sitting beside, it is sitting in parallel with the stone so the small child doesn’t know so he is sitting there and is calling out in searching) for the dog...’ [frogstory2\_JK]

<sup>1</sup> The sentence in (33) has a notion of spatial orientation from the speaker. The speaker as the centre of deictic projection directs to utterances based on his orientation so even though the sentence does not mention Yapen Island but since the speaker tells the story in the Wooi village, which is on Yapen Island, he uses Yapen as centre of reference in the story. Ponantavay is the easternmost part of Miosnum island facing Yapen Island to the east and it is the last place before people cross the strait to Yapen Island.

In summary, Type 1 is more productive in terms of numbers of verbs that can be included in the sequence of serialization, with up to seven verbs being possible and more independent in terms of the semantics of each verb. In contrast, Type 2 is restricted to only two verbs in the serialization, one of which is dependent on the other and functions as an adverbial modifier to the first verb. Table 10.1 shows the overview of SVCs in Woi.

Table 10.1. Overview of SVCs and their formal coding properties in Woi.

	Formal coding properties	
	Type 1	Type 2
Subject marker	Marked on all verbs	Only marked on the first verb
Dependency	All verbs [+independent]	First verb [+independent] Second verb [-independent]
Number of verbs allowed in serialization	between 2-7 verbs	2 verbs

#### 10.4.2. Pseudo-SVCs

Pseudo-SVCs is a term used to describe SVCs with a relation of semantic dependency. In Senft (2008), the term co-dependent is used to describe such a relation on the basis of formal coding properties. Structurally, Pseudo-SVCs follow the structural properties of SVCs, i.e. all verbs are in sequence to each other. A dependency relation refers to the semantic relation between events in a SVC in which the first event (verb) and the following event (verb) are dependent on each other, meaning the second event cannot semantically stand by itself without the first event. This dependency is marked by argument sharing, in which the object of the first event (verb) is shared with the subject of the second event (verb). The argument sharing mechanism allows two events in the series to be linked together as one semantic unit represented in the clause. The first event represented with the first verb requires the second event represented by the second

verb to occur. Pseudo-SVCs include constructions such as causative, resultative, permissive, depictive, motion, and purposive serial verb constructions.

#### 10.4.2.1. Causative SVCs

There are two verbs representing two events that can be used for causative SVCs. They are *-ona* or *-onane* ‘cause’ and *-ong* ‘make’. Semantically, they show a cause-effect relation in which the first event indicates the cause event and the second event indicates the effect event. Both verbs, by their structural composition, are linked by argument sharing, as can be seen in (36) and (37).

	CAUSE		EFFECT
(36)	<i>Tatona</i>		<i>Manu hentawa</i>
	ta-t-ona	Manu	he-t-tawa
	1PL.INC-PL-cause	Manu	3PL-PL-fall
	‘We caused Manu and associates to fall.’		

	CAUSE		EFFECT
(37)	<i>Yon</i>	<i>Joni</i>	<i>cawa</i>
	y-ong	John=i	ti-tawa
	1SG-make	John=3SG	3SG-fall
	‘I made John fall.’		

Semantically, the cause event represented with the verb *-ona* ‘cause’ and *-ong* ‘make’ requires the second event represented with the verb *tawa* ‘fall’ as complement of the first event. Their dependencies require a grammatical mechanism to link both events. The mechanism is argument sharing. It is indicated that the object argument of the first event, whether overtly marked with an NP or a pronoun or not, is also the subject of the second event. The subject of the second event is encoded by agreement marking following the usual morphological template of verbs, as described in §7.2. The sentence in (38) exemplifies such a construction.

(38)	<i>Cona</i>	<i>hesay</i>
	ti-ona	he-t-hai
	3SG-cause	3PL-PL-cry
	‘He caused them to cry.’	

The subject agreement in the secondary predicate is obligatory. This is the major feature of the argument sharing. It is ungrammatical to just have an NP in the object position without the subject agreement in the secondary predicate as in (39).

- (39) \**Cona*            *hia*    *hay*  
       ti-ona            hia    hai  
       3SG-cause        them cry  
       ‘He caused them to cry.’

When a causative verb is followed by a transitive verb in the second event, there are three arguments which appear in the argument structure of the causative construction. The semantic role of the object of the first event and the subject of the second event is more actor-like subject, rather than patient-like subject as in (39). This can be exemplified in (40).

- (40) *Cona*            *kahiow*            *Joni*  
       ti-ona            kahiow            Jon=i  
       3SG-cause        [1SG]angry        John=3SG  
       ‘He/she caused me to be angry at John.’

#### 10.4.2.2. Resultative SVCs

Resultative constructions also require two events represented by SVCs and argument sharing to link the two events. Here the first event describes the action initiated by the subject toward the object and the second event describes the result of this action. Argument sharing features in this construction, with the object of the first event being the same as the subject of the second event, as in (41).

- (41) *Jon*    *rora*            *Agus*    *hiay*  
       Jon    ti-rora            Agus    ti-hai  
       John 3SG-hit            Agus 3SG-cry  
       ‘John hit Agus making him cry.’

In (41), the verb *rora* ‘hit’ is the action event functioning semantically as the initial event done by the actor. The second verb *hai* ‘cry’ is the second event that describes the resultative event of the undergoer. It describes the result initiated by the subject toward the object of the first event.

Having a conjunction *mara* ‘then’ in between two events will change the SVC into two simple clauses as in (42).

- (42) *Jon riora Agus mara Agus hiay*  
 Jon ti-rora Agus mara Agus ti-hai  
 John 3SG-hit Agus then Agus 3SG-cry  
 ‘John hit Agus and Agus cried.’

Focus constructions show that the two verbs in the sequence as in (43) are a SVC in a single clause. The discontinuous focus construction that allows the focus marker *pa* ‘FOC’ to be marked in the post-clausal position identifies the SVC in a single clause.

- (43) *Agus ti Jon riorai hiay pa*  
 Agus ti Jon ti-rora=i ti-hai pa  
 Agus FOC.SG John 3SG-hit=3SG 3SG-cry FOC  
 ‘It is Agus that John hit and make him cry.’

Further description of the focus construction and its structure is given in Section 12.5.

### 10.4.2.3. Permissive SVCs

Permissive constructions always consist of two verbal events. The first event is the permissive verb *pi* or *pika* ‘let’ and the second event indicates that that action is permitted as in (44) and (45).

- (44) *Piri tepay*  
 pika=i ti-apay  
 [1SG]let=3SG 3SG=run  
 ‘I let him run.’

- (45) *Hempika hentamami vanei nya*  
 he-t-pika he-tama-m-i va-ne-i ti-na  
 3PL-PL-let 3PL.PSR-father-NSG.PSR-SG.PSS NEU-PRX-SG 3SG-stay

*na Harui*  
 na Harui  
 LOC Serui  
 ‘They let their father stay in Serui.’

In (44) and (45), argument sharing conjoins two events in which the object of the first event, whether it is a pronoun or an NP, becomes the subject of the second event in terms of agreement marking on the verb of the second verb.

#### 10.4.2.4. Depictive SVCs

Depictive expression in Wooi are also syntactically manifested by means of SVCs. In this construction, the first event and the second event are linked with argument sharing. It is also the object of the first event sharing its status with the subject of the second event. The object of the first event may be marked independently with a pronoun or an NP and it agrees with subject marker of the second event, as in (46) and (47).

(46) *Taraho i kevio*  
 tara-ho i ti-kavio  
 [1SG]ear-HO 3SG 3SG-talk  
 ‘I heard him talking’

(47) *Taraho Jon hengkavio*  
 tara-ho Jon he-t-kavio  
 [1SG]ear-HO John 3PL-PL-talk  
 ‘I heard John and associates talking’

#### 10.4.2.5. Motion SVCs

Motion verbs are the most favoured serial category and often involve two or more consecutive events. Two serial events observe the principle of temporal sequence. Permutation between two of them will result in different meaning and/or unacceptable meaning. In (48), the first verb is the motion directional verb combining the verb *ko* ‘bring’ and the deictic particle *ma* ‘hither’ and the second verb is the projected locative verb *na* ‘live’. They also share the argument in which the object of the first verb *hia* ‘3PL’ is shared with the second verb in which the argument is the subject marked by the subject marker *he-* ‘3PL’, as in (48). In (49), the motion event is in combination with the motion verb *ra* ‘go’ and the action verb *atuva* ‘ask for’. They form a SVC and share the same subject marker that triggers the second event *vavu* ‘return home’ to occur.

(48) *...payna kio hia ma hena rao...*  
 ...paina ti-ko hia ma he-t-na rao  
 ...so 3SG-bring 3PL hither 3PL-PL-live until  
 ‘...so she brought them here and they live here...’ [MARGA\_exp 056]

- (49) *Henda ma hetatuvata tata tambavu*  
 he-t-ra ma he-t-atuvata tata ta-t-vavu  
 3PL-PL-go hither 3PL-PL-ask.for 1PL.INC 1PL-PL-return.home  
 ‘They came and asked for us to go home.’

#### 10.4.2.6. Benefactive SVCs

Purposive constructions also require SVCs in which argument sharing is used to link two events. The first event represented by the verb *-ong* ‘give’ is the benefactive event in which the subject *ma-* ‘1PL.EXC’ allows the object *Jon* ‘John’ with a purpose to get a benefit from and this becomes the subject of the second event. The object of the first event then becomes the subject of the second event, as in (50). In (51), the same benefactive event functions as a permission to allow the second event of sleeping to occur.

- (50) *Matong Jon cang anang*  
 ma-t-ong Jon ti-ang anang  
 1PL.EXC-PL-give John 3SG-eat papeda  
 ‘We allow John to eat Papeda (cooked sago).’

- (51) *Yong hia hetena na rarompuy*  
 y-ong hia he-t-ena na rarom=pui  
 1SG-give 3PL 3PI-PL-sleep LOC inside=back  
 ‘I allowed them to sleep inside here.’

### 10.5 Some issues of phrasal verbs

While motion verbs with directional particles, i.e. *ma* ‘hither’ and *ra* ‘thither’ are found in SVCs described above, this is not the only way directional particles are used. Motion verbs, whether single or in serial verbs constructions, always need a directional particle. The main verbs semantically define the manner of motion and the directional particles show the directional orientation of the activity, i.e. moving toward (hither) and moving away from (thither). They form one semantic unit that is not separable. Syntactically, these two morphemes employ a simple construction in which the directional particle immediately follows the main verb as in (52) and (53).

(52) *Riama*            *to*  
 ti-ra=ma            to  
 3SG-go=hither    PERF  
 ‘He/she has come.’

(53) *Ariang*            *macaw*            *mendama*            *metampi*  
 Ariang            macaw            me-t-ra=ma            me-t-ang=pi  
 Child            many            2PL-PL-go=hither            2PL-PL-eat=thing  
 ‘Children, come and eat!’

However, in other cases, the main verbs and the directional particles may be separated by other elements such as arguments (object and oblique) or adjuncts that are placed in between the main verb and the deictic particle as shown in (54) and (55).

(54) ...*teti*            *to*            *kambrey*            *puiti*            *rapuy*            *vavaw*  
 ti-tati            to            kambrei            puiti            ra=pui            va-vau  
 3SG-peek            to            hole            inside            thither=inside            NEU-RED[NSG]

*aya*            *nei*            [*meti*]            *kara*            *na*            *kambrey vat*  
 aya            ne-i            ti-mati            kara            na            kambrei            va-i  
 bird            PRX-SG            3SG-go.out            through            LOC            hole            NEU-SG

*ma]*            *hinyong*            *katung*            *tentuma*            *pa*            *cawa*  
 ma            hinyong            katung            ti-tantuma            paina            ti-tawa  
 hither            child            small            3SG-scare            so            3SG-fall

*cara*            *via*            *na*            *umbaw...*  
 ti-tawa=ra            ti-va            na            umbau  
 3SG-fall=thither            3SG-stay            LOC            downward  
 ‘...he was peeking inside the hole then a bird came out from the hole, this small child was surprised and fell down there...’ [frogstory2\_JK\_JEN 066-069]

(55) ...*ay*            *arawang*            *ma*            [*viata*]            *heyo*            *to*            *umbaw*  
 ai            arawang            mara            ti-vata            ti-hayo            to            umbau

tree            branch            then            3SG-be.place            3SG-look            to            downward

*ra]*            *woroy*            *katu*            *ma*            *rusa*            *nei*            *tepay ma*  
 ra            woroi            katung            mara            rusa            ne-i            ti-apai            ma  
 thither            long            small            then            deer            PRX-SG            3SG-run            hither

*hinyong*            *katung*            *nei*            *cow*            *ho*            *i*            *ma...*  
 hinyong            katung            ne-i            ti-ou            ho            i            mara  
 child            small            PRX-SG            3SG-climb            to            3SG            then  
 ‘...he stayed on the branch of the tree then stayed and looked downward and shortly a deer ran toward him and the small child climbed onto it...’ [frogstory2\_JK\_JEN 086-089]

Examples (54) and (55), show the evidence that the main verb can be separated from the deictic particle by other syntactic elements. The directional particle becomes the



syntactic element that has scope over the verb phrase. Thus, a construction in which a directional particle is placed immediately after the main verb against the constructions in (54) and (55) is not grammatical in the Woi grammar. This evidence of complex verbal construction shows an indication of a complex verbal predicate.

# Chapter 11 – Complex clauses

## 11.1. Introduction

This chapter describes how complex clauses are structured in particular inter-clausal combinations that consist of coordinated clauses and subordinated clauses. Inter-clausal combination deals with two or more clauses being linked with a number of different semantic relations and different grammatical strategies. The link can be simply by juxtaposition or by linking devices. The chapter is organized as follows: Section 11.2 describes coordinated clauses in Woi. These consist of comitative coordination (§11.2.1), sequential coordination (§11.2.2), disjunctive coordination (§11.2.3), contrastive coordination (§11.2.4) and consequential coordination (§11.2.5). Section 11.3 discusses subordinating constructions that consist of complement clauses in §11.3.1, adverbial clauses (§11.3.2): reasoning clauses (§11.3.2.1), purposive clauses (§11.3.2.2), simultaneous clauses (§11.3.2.3) and concessive clauses (§11.3.2.4). Relative clauses are discussed in §11.3.3.

## 11.2. Coordinated clauses

Woi has several coordinated clauses that express relations between two or more clauses in sentences and the relations are marked by various linkers. Here, the linkers are called coordinators and the clauses that are linked by coordinators are called coordinands (see Haspelmath 2004, Mous 2004, Moyse-Furie and Lynch 2004). Woi has several coordinators that express different syntactic and semantic functions of the

coordinands. They are: 1) comitative coordinator; 2) sequential coordinator; 3) disjunctive coordinator; 4) contrastive coordinators; and 5) consequential coordinator.

### 11.2.1. Comitative coordinator *kong* ‘COM’

The comitative coordinator *kong* ‘COM’ functions to express a comitative relation between two (or more) elements in a clause. It is multifunctional: it can link two NPs to form a complex NP, as described in §4.3, it can function as a preposition to an oblique argument, described in §3.3.3 and §13.8.3.2 and it also functions as a comitative verb. This subsection only describes *kong* as a comitative verb that semantically describes equal or parallel relations between participants (subject and object) in doing an activity. In this function, *kong* ‘COM’ takes the prefixed-subject marker and it has an object argument. Semantically, it expresses ‘togetherness’ between subject and object.

- (1) *Andi kiong Agus hunuing taung ve metang*  
 Andi ti-kong Agus hu-r-nuing taung ve me-t-ang  
 Andi 3SG-COM Agus 3DU-DU-bake sago for 2PL-PL-eat  
 ‘Andi was together with Agus baked sago cake for you to eat.’
- (2) *Meri hengkong Joni hetanyau Bahasa Inggris*  
 Meri he-t-kong Jon-i he-t-anyau Bahasa Inggris  
 Mary 3PL-PL-COM John-SG 3PL-PL-learn Language English  
 ‘Mary and associates are together with John learning English.’

In (1) and (2), the comitative marker *kong* features characteristics of verbs. It takes the subject marker that agrees with the first NP of the comitative verb *kong*. This is to suggest that *kong* could be a subclass of the verb. In the paradigm, *kong* agrees with all person-number markings, as in Table 11.1.

Table 11.1. The paradigm of person/number markings with the comitative marker *kong*.

Person/number-kong	NP	
<i>kong</i>	<i>Joni</i>	‘I am together with John’
<i>kuong</i>	<i>Joni</i>	‘You are together with John’
<i>kiong</i>	<i>Joni</i>	‘He/she is together with John’
<i>tungkong</i>	<i>Joni</i>	‘We (DU.INC) are together with John’
<i>hungkong</i>	<i>Joni</i>	‘They (DU) are together with John’
<i>tangkong</i>	<i>Joni</i>	‘We (PL.INC) are together with John’
<i>Hengkong</i>	<i>Joni</i>	‘They (PL) are together with John’

The paradigm of *kong* in Table 11.1 is only applicable for the comitative verb as in (1) and (2). It cannot occur with *kong* ‘COM’ functioning as the NP coordinator and as the comitative preposition.

Note that syntactically, the comitative verb *kong* requires another main verb that describes the action done by both the subject and the object of the comitative verb *kong*. The main verb then indicates an agreement between the comitative participants in terms of person and number features in the subject markers. Thus, as the verb *kong* carries the meaning ‘togetherness’, the subject marker on the main verb always agrees with non-singular person as shown in (2) in which the subject marker *he-* ‘3PL’ attaching to the verb *anyau* ‘learn’ agrees with Mary, her associates representing by the subject marker *he-* ‘3PL’ on *kong* ‘COM’ and John linked by the comitative verb.

*Kong* ‘COM’ cannot be used to link two independent clauses. To do so is not grammatical in Wooi as in (3).

- (3) \**Mahoy yang tiang kong yang pa*  
*mahai y-ang tiang kong y-ang pa*  
 [1SG]sit 1SG-eat fish COM 1SG-eat rice  
 ‘I am sitting here eating some fish and eating some rice’

### 11.2.2. Sequential coordinator *marainteri* ‘then’

The sequential coordinator *marainteri* syntactically functions to link two independent clausal coordinands. The two clausal coordinands must semantically be in chronological sequential order in which one event comes after another in a logical way

and semantically they relate to each other or they are built one after another in describing an event in a discourse.

The compound coordinator *marainteri* ‘then’, with its alternate forms such as *mara*, *ma*, *mainte*, *ainte*, *marainte*, *inte*, and *interi*, is used to link chronological events. However, these alternate forms might be slightly different in use. The forms of *marainte*, *ainte*, *inte* and *interi* are alternates in use for the same context as in (4). The story is seen in a chronological sequential order.

- (4) *Ariang katung*      *nei*              *hioha*              *spatu* *ne*  
 ariang katung      ne-i              ti-hoha              spatu ne  
 child small      PRX-SG              3SG-put.on      shoe PRX-NSG
- ainte*              *nya*              *ma*      *hia*  
 marainte      ti-na              mara      ti-ha  
 then              3SG-stay      then      3SG-call  
 ‘...the small child puts on his shoes then he stays then keeps calling...’ [Frog  
 Story2\_JK 035-036]

*Marainteri* ‘then’ may semantically seem to have simultaneous events in which two events occur in the same time reference. However, they are built in logical sequential order in which the first event anticipates the second event to happen, as in (5).

- (5) *Hampompe*      *vo*              *kikie*      *vecuru*              *to*      *mainte*              *Agus*  
 hampompe      vo              kikie      ve-curu              to      mainteri              Agus  
 in.the.past      FOC.NOM      near      VBLZ-night      PERF      then              Agus
- hetapay*              *na*      *Asua*      *ma*  
 he-tapai              na      Asua      ma  
 3PL-depart      LOC      Ansus      hither  
 ‘In the past, at that time, it was almost dark then Agus and associates left Ansus to come here.’

In (5), the event of darkness is a simultaneous event to when the second event occurs. This reflects the order of events in the real world and this is expressed in the coordinator word *marainteri* ‘then’.

When two events are not anticipated to happen, *marainteri* ‘then’ can be used. In this context, the first event occurs on its own and then the second event occurs unexpectedly, but there is no pre-existing relation between two events before.

(6) *Roy marainte Eni tarahoa*  
 roi marainteri Eni tara-ho=a  
 [1SG]sing then Eni [1/3SG]ear-HO=OBJ.NSG  
 ‘I sang then Eni heard my voice unexpectedly’ (Eni heard me singing from the distance and Eni didn’t expect before that I sang).

(7) *Hendehoi mara ria to nine ma*  
 he-t-re-ho=i mara ti-ra to ning-ne ma  
 3PL-PL-eye-HO=3SG then 3SG-go to here-PRX[NSG] hither  
 ‘When they saw him/her, he/she was coming here.’

In contrast, when two events are expected to happen and they are anticipated before, the coordinator *marainte* is not used. Two events are seen as one complex event in sequence so there is no gap between two events. Thus, a complex predicate construction is used, as in (8) and (9).

(8) *Eni taraho roy vaw*  
 Eni tara-ho roi vau  
 Eni [1/3SG]ear-HO [1SG]sing NEU[NSG]  
 ‘Eni heard me singing’ (context: Eni heard me singing because she expects me singing before)

(9) *Hendehoi ria to nine ma*  
 he-t-re-ho=i ti-ra to ning-ne ma  
 3PL-PL-eye-HO=3SG 3SG-go to here-PRX[NSG] hither  
 ‘They saw him/her coming here.’

The structure of complex predicates is further given in Chapter 10.

Other semantic relations such as causative and resultative relations can use *marainteri* ‘then’ when the sequential order of each event is the point of description. This describes a single event causing another single event to happen, as in (10).

(10) *Intene hundora taru interi tuntawa*  
 intene hu-r-rora taru marainteri tu-r-tawa  
 just.now 3DU-DUhit 1DU.INC then 1DU.INC-DU-fall  
 ‘Just now, they hit us then we fell.’

In contrast, when two events are semantically in a tight relation in which one event semantically results in another happening in logical order, *marainteri* is not necessarily used. The clause must be in a complex predicate construction showing no gap in between the two events, as in (11).

- (11) *Intene hundora taru tuntawa*  
 intene hu-r-rora taru tu-r-tawa  
 just.now 3DU-DUhit 1DU.INC 1DU.INC-DU-fall  
 ‘Just now, they hit us making us fall.’

There is no restriction in coordination to link two different types of clauses, for instance, a declarative clause and a negative clause as in (12) and (13).

- (12) *Marice ria ma mara campi vami interi ria rea*  
 Marice ti-ra ma mara ti-ang=pi va=mi interi ti-ra rea  
 Marice 3SG-go hither then 3SG-eat=thing NEG=IMPRV then 3SG-go again  
 ‘Marice came here, she didn’t eat anything yet, then she left again.’

- (13) *Hendama mara hendeho ya va interi henda rea*  
 he-t-ra=ma mara he-t-re-ho ya va interi he-t-ra rea  
 3PL-PL-go=hither then 3PL-PL-eye-HO 1SG NEG then 3PL-go again  
 ‘They came over, they did not see me, then they left again.’

The order of *mara* ‘then’ and *interi* ‘then’ in (12) and (13) are grammatically correct in Wooi. Switching the order in which *interi* ‘then’ comes first and *mara* ‘then’ comes next is ungrammatical in Wooi, as in (14).

- (14) \**Hendama interi hendeho ya va mara henda rea*  
 he-t-ra=ma interi he-t-re-ho ya va mara he-t-ra rea  
 3PL-PL-go=hither then 3PL-PL-eye-HO 1SG NEG then 3PL-go again  
 ‘They came over, they did not see me, then they left again.’

### 11.2.3. Disjunctive coordinator *ete* ‘or’

The disjunction conjunction *ete* ‘or’ has two syntactic functions: first, it functions to coordinate two NP coordinands and second, it coordinates two clauses. In clauses, it functions to link two clauses and gives an alternative meaning between one clause and another. It can function to link two (or more) independent clauses, as in (15) and (16).

- (15) *impa riama co kio o: kou nebuong*  
 payna ti-ra=ma ti-o ti-ko o kou nebuong  
 so 3Sg-go-hither 3SG-want 3SG-bring FILL owl egg
- neng nete pa o: cupari riukori...*  
 ne-ng ete pa o ti-upa=i ti-ruko=i  
 POSS-3SG or so FILL 3SG-chase=3SG 3SG-chase=3SG  
 ‘So he comes in order to bring the owl’s egg or he chases it...’ [frogstory1\_JEN 178-181]

- (16) ...*hetong*      *ce*                      *na*    *wa*    *rarong*            *nei*    *e:*      *te*  
 he-t-ong      ti-te                      na    wa    raro            ne-i    e        ete  
 3PL-PL-make 3SG-stand      LOC    canoe    inside            PRX-SG FILL    or
- ve*    *a:*      *o:*      *vico*    *mamang*      *vanei...*  
 ve    a      o      vico    mamang      va-ne-i  
 for    FILL    FILL    protect    rain            NEU-PRX-SG
- ‘They build (the kokoya) inside the canoe or it is for protecting (someone) from the rain.’ [KOKOYA\_exp\_JEW]

*Ete* ‘or’ can also be used to give an alternative option of two adverbial locations in the adjunct position. In the conversation in the kitchen between women, one asked about which locations she should put the *forno* (an instrument to bake sago cake) on the fireplace. In this instance, *ete* ‘or’ is used, as in (17).

- (17) *Yong*                      *ei*      *via*                      *na*    *ning*    *ete*      *na*      *revu*  
 y-ong                      ei      ti-vata                      na    ning    ete      na      revu  
 1SG-put                      one    3SG-be.placed      LOC    here    or      LOC    tip
- nei*                      *e*  
 ne-i                      e  
 PRX-SG                      Q
- ‘Do I put one right here or at the end here?’

*Ete* ‘or’ can be used in an ellipsis construction. The first clause consists of the whole proposition that makes up the whole meaning and such a counterpart construction in the second clause is elided from the surface structure and leaves out one or two constituents. In (18), the two clauses state the probability of the expected events, however, the second clause is the ellipsis, in which it just consists of the negative word *pivay* ‘not’.

- (18) *Rebiasa*                      *henda*                      *ma*    *ete*      *pivay*    *e*  
 rebiasa                      he-t-ra                      ma    ete      pivai    e  
 [3SG]not.yet.know      3PL-go                      hither    or      not      Q
- ‘He does not know whether they come or not.’

The second clause can be the ellipsis that consists just of a noun. The noun ellipsis has basically an alternative meaning as the whole first clause, rather than just choices between two nouns, as in (19).

- (19) *Buong*                      *humbe*                      *ve*    *i*      *ete*      *tamang*      *e*  
 bu-ong                      humbe                      ve    i      ete      tamang      e  
 2SG-give                      machete                      for    3SG    or      axe                      Q
- ‘Did you give him a machete or (did you give him) an axe?’



### 11.2.4. Contrastive coordinator *mae* ‘but’ and *mana* ‘but’

There are two contrastive coordinators in Wooi, i.e. *mae* ‘but’ and *mana* ‘but’.

They function as clausal coordinators with two different pragmatic uses.

- a. *Mae* ‘but’ is used in contrastive facts, i.e. antonym, opposite, or polarity contrast in which two clauses have features of [+clause], [-clause].

- (20) *Mamang miuna na wampa mae nine*  
 mamang miuna na wang-pa mae ning-ne  
 rain rain LOC there.2-DIST[NSG] but here-PRX[NSG]

*vo pivay*  
 vo pivai  
 FOC.NOM not  
 ‘It is raining there but it is not here.’

- (21) *piova ra ce ra na kami vavong vati*  
 ti-pova ra ti-tera ra na kami vavo va-i  
 3SG-climb thither 3SG-stand thither LOC rock on NEU-SG

*mae wona piti ce kami vava vati*  
 mae wona pi=i ti-tera kami vava va-i  
 but dog UP-SG 3SG-stand rock under NEU-SG  
 ‘He climbed up and stood on the rock but the dog stood under the rock.’  
 [frogstory1\_EW\_JEN 183-184]

In (20), the raining event is used to contrast to facts in two different locations [+ rain] and [-rain] and the contrastive facts are link with *mae* ‘but’. In (21), the event of standing is used as the event to be contrasted in two different positions, then *mae* ‘but’ is used.

*Mae* ‘but’ can also be used when describing controversial facts in which the second clause shows that the first clause may possibly not take place as in (22).

- (22) *Buo wo to Asua mae homang pai*  
 bu-o wo to Asua mae homang pa-i  
 2SG-want [2SG]paddle to Ansus but outrigger DIST-SG

*piang tekay to mae*  
 piang ti-takai to mae  
 already 3SG-break PERF but  
 ‘You want to paddle [the canoe] to Ansus but the outrigger [of the canoe] has broken already but...!’



- (24) \**Ria*    *tenyau*        *va*    ***mana***    *ivo*                    *vekuru*        *na*  
 ti-ra    ti-anyau        va    mana    i=vo                    ve-kuru        na  
 3SG-go 3SG-teach        NEG    but    3SG=FOC                VBLZ-teacher    LOC

*pandu*            *havaru*            *wampa*  
 pandu            havaru            wang-pa  
 village            next                there.2-DIST[NSG]

‘He did not go to teach but he is the teacher in the neighbouring village.’

Note that the use of *mana* ‘but’ in (23) cannot be replaced by *mae* ‘but’. To do so is ungrammatical, as in (25).

- (25) \**Nerai*        *vo*    *vekuru*        *na*    *pandu*        *havaru*  
 nera-i        vo    ve-kuru        na    pandu        havaru  
 [3SG]uncle-SG    FOC    VBLZ=teacher    LOC    village        next

*wampa*                    ***mae***    *ria*    *tenyau*        *va*  
 wang-pa                    mae    ti-ra    ti-anyau        va  
 there.2-DIST[NSG]        but    3SG-go 3SG-teach        NEG

‘His uncle is a teacher and teaches in the neighbouring village but he never goes there to teach’

### 11.2.5. Consequential coordinator *payna* ‘so’

The coordinator *payna* ‘so’ syntactically functions to link two clauses that describe two events, in which the second event is the consequent event of the first one, as in (26).

- (26) *Amai*            *ria*    *ya*    ***pa***                    *hay*  
 amai            ti-ra    ya    paina                    hai  
 [1SG]father    3SG-hit 1SG    so                    [1SG]-cry  
 ‘My father hit me so I am crying.’

In (26), it is a resultative event in which the first event, which is the hitting event, results in the second event or consequent event, which is the crying event, to happen.

It is the same as the events with a logical order in which the last event is the consequence of other events occurring before, as in (27).

- (27) *Yo*                *ra*    *to*    *skola*    ***mana***    *miuna*    ***payna***    *mahoy*  
 y-o                ra    to    skola    mana    miuna    paina    mahoi  
 1SG-want        [1SG]go to    school    but    rain    so    [1SG]sit  
 ‘I want to go to school but it is raining so I stay.’

*Payna* can also be placed at the end of a sentence. To do so, the expected clause after the coordinator is elided but is semantically available. This position places the

coordinator as a tail-head linkage to express syntactically a relationship of two consequent events as in (28).

(28) *Hninyontaray wampai merarising vo yong doy*  
 hinyonratai wang-pa-i ti-mararising vo y-ong dai  
 person there.2-DIST-SG 3SG-happy because 1SG-give money

*ve i payna*  
 ve i paina  
 for 3SG so

‘The person is happy because I gave him money so’

In (28), the sentence can be literally interpreted as: *hninyontaray wampai merarising vo yong doy ve i payna (merarising)* ‘the person is happy because I gave him money so he is happy.’

The conjunction *payna* ‘so’ can be used to describe the consequent events that bring a concluding event in the second clause. The first clause is the statement of fact and the second clause is the reasonable conclusion as in (29).

(29) *Kamcey jam topi nine mara piampa campi*  
 kamcei jam topi ning-ne mara already ti-ang=pi  
 tomorrow time like here-PRX[NSG] that already 3SG-eat-thing

*kay to payna buo rua buri ra mara jam*  
 kai to paina bu-o bu-ra bu=ri ra mara jam  
 finish PERF so 2SG-want 2SG-go DIR=outside thither that time

*topi nine*  
 topi ning-ne  
 like here-PRX[NSG]

‘This time tomorrow he will have finished eating so you can go there at this time.’

### 11.3. Subordinated clauses

Subordinated clauses are clauses that are dependent on the main ‘independent’ clause. Cristofaro (2003: 33) states that subordination can be viewed as functional conceptualization pattern to connect the speaker’s states of affairs in such a way in which one clause is built upon another whether one of them is grammatically independent or not and will supply logical and coherent message to the hearer. Syntactically, they have different functions – they can replace a noun, or act as

modifiers to the main clause or to a noun. In Woi, there are three main subordinate clauses, i.e. complement clauses, adverbial clauses, and relative clauses.

### 11.3.1. Complement clauses

A complement clause is a clausal argument to a matrix/main clause (see Dixon 2010, Payne 1997). This section describes types of complement clauses and their structural and semantic properties in Woi. Some types of verbs treat NP arguments and clausal arguments alike. There are two ways of linking complement clauses into the main clauses based on the overt marking, i.e. the complement marker and verb-verb juxtaposition (serial verb construction). Verbs that are capable to form a complement clause regardless of the ways of expressing it, can also have an NP object as in (30) and (31).

- (30) a. *Hetora to arari wampai*  
 he-t-ora to arari wang-pa-i  
 3PL-PL-think of story there.2-DIST-SG  
 ‘They think about that story’
- b. *Hetora to ramdempe ra to Manokwari to*  
 he-t-ora to ramdempe ra to Manokwari to  
 3PL-PL-think of yesterday [1SG]go to Manokwari PERF  
 ‘They think that I have gone to Manokwari yesterday.’
- (31) a. *Jon co pi wampai*  
 Jon ti-o pi wang-pa-i  
 John 3SG-want thing there.2-DIST-SG  
 ‘John wants that thing’
- b. *Jon co yang angkati wampai*  
 Jon ti-o ti-ang angkati wang-pa-i  
 John 3SG-want 1SG-eat coconut there.2-DIST-SG  
 ‘John wants me to eat that coconut.’

Examples (30) and (31) indicate the two ways of expressing complement clauses. There are verbs that require complement linkers in order to have complement clauses attach to the main clause and there are verbs that just juxtapose to each other.

- i. Verbs that require complement markers:
- ii. Verbs that require serial verbs: utterance verbs

(i) Verbs that require complement markers

Verbs like *-ora* ‘think’ and *mararising* ‘like’ require a complement linker in order to subordinate a complement clause to the main clause. In (32) and (33), the verb *-ora* ‘think’ requires the complement linker *to* in order to subordinate the complement clause. Whether the verb *-ora* ‘think’ takes an NP argument or a complement clause, the linker *to* is always marked. Thus, the argument following the verb must be an oblique, rather than an object, as in (30a) above. In (32) and (33), the verb *-ora* ‘think’ is the main clause that takes a complement clause.

(32) *Yora to ingkay morarapa kong i*  
 y-ora to ingkai bu-mararapa kong i  
 1SG-think to later 2SG-be.hit from 3SG  
 ‘I think that you will be hit by him.’

(33) *Hetora to ramdempe ra to Manokwari to*  
 he-t-ora to ramdempe ra to Manokwari to  
 3PL-PL-think to yesterday [1SG]go to Manokwari PERF  
 ‘They think that I already went to Manokwari yesterday.’

In (34) and (35), the complement linker *ve* is used to combine the main clause and the complement clause. The linker is required by the verb *mararising* ‘like’. Unlike the linker *to* for the verb *-ora* ‘think’ that is obligatory for both the NP argument and the complement clause, the linker *ve* is only used for a complement clause and cannot be used for an NP argument. So, in taking an NP argument, the verb *mararising* ‘like’ needs a direct object argument, rather than an oblique argument.

(34) a. *Hemrarising tata*  
 he-t-mararising tata  
 3PL-PL-like 1PL.INC  
 ‘They like us.’

b. *Hemrarising ve hembantu heneta baba vati*  
 he-t-mararising ve he-t-bantu he-neta baba va-i  
 3PL-PL-like for 3PL-PL-help 3PL-sibling big NEU-SG

*ve hetong manu wampai*  
 ve he-t-ong manu wang-pa-i  
 for 3PL-PL-make house there.2-DIST-SG  
 ‘They like to help their big brother to build that house.’

- (35) a. *Tamarising*            *rotang*            *vaw*  
 ta-t-mararising            rotang            vau  
 1PL-PL-like            bag            NEU[NSG]  
 ‘We like those bags.’
- b. *Tamararising*            *ve*            *tatanung*            *rotang ve*  
 ta-t-mararising            ve            ta-t-anung            rotang ve  
 1PL.INC-PL-like            for            1PL.INC-PL-weave            bag for
- tato            *tangko*            *to*            *Harui payna*  
 ta-t-o            ta-t-ko            to            Harui payna  
 1PL.INC-PL-want            1PL.INC-PL-bring            to            Serui so  
 ‘We like to weave bags in order to bring (them) to Serui so...’

The complement linkers *to* and *ve* are obligatory in the constructions. It is ungrammatical in Woori for the linker to be omitted. Note that the complement linkers *to* and *ve* are different in function from those used as prepositions which are *to* ‘to’ and *ve* ‘for’, verbalized *ve-*, and the relative clause marker *ve(ve)*.

(ii) Verbs that require serial verbs for complement clauses

Some verbs require serial verb construction in expressing complementation. There is no semantic distinction among verbs in forming a complement clause in this type. Verbs such as *mairiay* ‘do not like’, *-o* ‘want’, *oyo* ‘say’, *paya* ‘tell’, *utang* ‘ask’, and *porandeng* ‘forget’ are among verbs that take verb serialization between the main clause and the complement clauses, as in (36), (37), and (38). These verbs also take the object argument immediately after verbs.

- (36) a. *Hemariay*            *manu vati*  
 he-t-mairiai            manu va-i  
 3PL-PL-do.not.like            house NEU-SG  
 ‘They don’t like that house.’
- b. *Hemairiay*            *henda*            *to*            *romi*            *pe*  
 he-t-mairiai            he-t-ra            to            romi            pe  
 3PL-PL-do.not.like            3PL-PL-go            to            garden            NEG-PART  
 ‘They don’t like to go to the garden.’
- (37) a. *Hemparandeng*            *yau*  
 he-t-porandeng            yau  
 3PL-PL-forget            1SG  
 ‘They forget me.’

b. *Remuho porandeng hnuy antureng pai pe*  
 remuho bu-porandeng bu-hui antureng pa-i pe  
 PROH 2SG-forget 2SG-close door DIST-SG NEG.PROH  
 ‘Don’t forget to close the door!’

(38) a. *Coyo masala pi ve Agus na racune*  
 ti-oyo masala pi ve Agus na racune  
 3SG-say problem DEI for Agus LOC last.night  
 ‘He/she said about the problem to Agus last night.’

b. *Hetoyo co ria Harui na kamiey*  
 he-t-oyo ti-o ti-ra Harui na kamiei  
 3PL-PL-say 3SG-want 3SG-go Serui LOC tomorrow  
 ‘They said that he wants to go to Serui tomorrow.’

In (38b), it is an indirect speech expression to form a complement. When expressing a direct speech in a direct conversation, the combination of the verb *paya* ‘tell’ and *-oyo* ‘say’ co-occur respectively in the main clause that signals the complement clause is in a direct speech (marked by double quotation marks), as in (39).

(39) *Hempaya hetoyo, “co ria Harui na kamiey.”*  
 he-t-paya he-t-oyo ti-o ti-ra Harui na kamiei  
 3PL-PL-tell 3PL-PL-say 3SG-want 3SG-go Serui LOC tomorrow  
 ‘They said, “He/she wanted to go to Serui last night.’

There are also other verbs (utterance verbs) that can also take clausal arguments which only express indirectness. Those verbs are the verb *paya* ‘tell’, *utang* ‘ask’, and *tatuva* ‘ask/order’ which require a clausal complement in the oblique position as in (40), (41), and (42). When taking an NP argument, the verbs require three arguments (three-place predicate clauses).

(40) *Paya pi pe ve Jon kong Agus haru*  
 Paya pi pe ve Jon kong Agus haru  
 [1SG]tell something DEI[NSG] for John COM Agus 3DU  
 ‘I told something to John and Agus.’

In (40), it is a three-place predicate sentence in which the argument structure is S, V, O, OBL. When someone asks a question: “What did you tell *John* and *Agus* about?” The answer can be: *I told John and Agus to come here tomorrow*. In *Wooi*, there is no object-oblique alternation as in a ditransitive construction. In non-complement clauses, the argument structure follows the basic argument structure (S-V-O-OBL). However,



when a complement clause is required, the oblique argument precedes the verb immediately and the complement clause follows the oblique argument, as in (41).

A sentence with a complement clause:

- (41) *Paya ve Jon kong Agus kamceyma*  
 paya ve Jon kong Agus kamceima  
 [1SG]tell for John COM Agus tomorrow  
  
*hunda ma*  
 hu-r-ra ma  
 3DU-DU-go hither  
 'I told John and Agus to come tomorrow.'

The same is true of the verb *utang* 'ask' in which the complement clause follows the oblique argument, see (42), in contrast to its non-complement clause counterpart in (41).

A three-place predicate sentence:

- (42) *Eny cutang pi pe ve Sutri*  
 Eny ti-tatuva pi pe ve Sutri  
 Eny 3SG-ask something DEI[NSG] for Sutri  
 'Eny asked something to Sutri.'

A sentence with a complement clause:

- (43) *Eny cutang Sutri kio buku kong Jimi*  
 Eny ti-utang Sutri ti-ko buku kong Jimi  
 Eny 3SG-ask Sutri 3SG-take book from Jimi  
 'Eny asked Sutri to take a book from Jimmy.'

There are verbs, especially verbs of cognition, that are borrowed from Malay such as *rasa* 'feel' and *tau* 'know'. They can also take a complement clause. In order to do so, they have to undergo a verbalization process by having the verbalizer *ve-* 'VBLZ' as described in §6.6. This can be exemplified in (44), (45), and (46).

*Rasa* 'feel'

- (44) *Verasa aw huhi pa (COMP)*  
 ve-rasa au bu-huhi pa  
 [1/3SG]VBLZ-feel 2SG 2SG-sick FOC  
 'I feel that you are sick.'
- (45) *Eny verasa aysasinay tihang aeng vati*  
 Eny ve-rasa aيساناي تي-هانغ اهانغ في-صا  
 Eny [3SG]VBLZ-feel thorn 3SG-jab foot-3SG.POSS DOWN-SG  
 'Eny feels that a thorn jabs her foot.'

*Tau* ‘know’

- (46) *Vetau*                      *ingkay*                      *peya*                      *arari* *taray* *pai*  
ve-tau                      angkai                      ti-paya                      arari    tarai    pa-i  
[1SG]VBLZ-know                      later                      3SG-talk                      story    content    DIST-SG  
‘I know that he will tell the content of the story’

### 11.3.2. Adverbial clauses

Adverbial subordinate clauses function to modify the main clause. There are several adverbial subordinate clauses in Woi. They have different syntactic manifestations and different semantic relations with respect to subordinating the main clause. The adverbial clauses are reasoning clauses, purposive clauses, simultaneous clauses, and concessive clauses.

#### 11.3.2.1. Reasoning clauses with *vo* ‘because’

Reasoning clauses are the subordinate clauses that provide a reason in the causative relationship between the main clause and the subordinate clause. In Woi, the reasoning clause is marked with the marker *vo* ‘because’. Syntactically, a reasoning clause follows the main clause, as in (47) and (48). In (47), the reasoning clause precedes the main clause that consists of the cause-reason event. In (48), the main clause, which is the cause event, comes first and is followed by the reason clause.

- (47) *Ingkay yari*                      *vo*    *buo*                      *rua*    *vuruy* *ya*                      *payna*  
ingkai y-ari                      vo    bu-o                      bu-ra    vurui    ya                      paina  
later    1SG-sad                      because 2SG-want                      2SG-go leave    1SG                      so  
‘I will be sad because you want to leave me so (I will be sad)’
- (48) *Heso*                      *Jean* *vo*                      *ria*                      *heyo*                      *hemung*                      *hia*  
he-t-ho                      Jean vo                      ti-ra                      ti-hayo                      he-mung                      hia  
3PL-PL-throw    Jean because 3SG-go                      3Sg-watch                      3PL-fight                      3PL
- vaw*                      *payna*  
vau                      paina  
NEU[NSG]                      so  
‘They threw Jean (with a stone) because she went to see them fight so (they threw her (with a stone)).’

Both reasoning clauses must have the round tail-head linkage signalled by the consequential coordinator *payna* ‘so’ which is syntactically elliptical and semantically indicates the sequence of cause-reason relationship.

### 11.3.2.2. Purposive clauses

Purposive clauses are subordinate clauses that provide a purposive event that is triggered by the main event in the main clause. Syntactically, they are marked by the purposive linker *ve* ‘for’. The linker *ve* ‘for’ is similar to the complement construction with *ve* but they are different in their syntactic distributions. The linker *ve* in purposive subordination does not constitute an argument of the complement clause as in (49) and (50), but it is followed by a verb.

(49) *Henuing anang ve tatang*  
 he-t-nuing anang ve ta-t-ang  
 3PL-PL-roast sago for 1PL-PL-eat  
 ‘They baked sago for us to eat’

(50) *Heto hetiri hninyontaray korisi ve cong*  
 he-t-o he-t-iri hinyontarai korisi ve ti-ong  
 3PL-PL-want 3PL-PL-choose person one for 3SG-make

*pi wampai*  
 pi wang-pa-i  
 thing there.2-DIST-SG  
 ‘They want to choose one person to make that thing’

Note that the form *ve* is homonymous between the purposive subordination conjunction, complement clause marker, relative clause marker and the preposition of the oblique argument on three-place predicates.

### 11.3.2.3. Simultaneous clauses

The simultaneous clauses are subordinate clauses that describe one event that occurs in the same time another event is still in progress as described in the main clause.

In Wooi, there are two orders of events in relation to the order of the main event and simultaneous event:

- a. The main event plus the simultaneous event represented in the structure of the main clause + the subordinate clause. This is marked by *na ha* ‘LOC day’ + *ve* ‘REL’.
- b. The simultaneous event plus the main event represented in the structure of the subordinate clause + the main clause. This is marked by *ha* ‘day’ in the beginning of the sentence.

In (51), the simultaneous clause is marked by the combinatory marker *na ha* ‘LOC day’ + *ve* ‘REL’ that forms a phrasal subordinated linker. The phrasal subordinated linker is obligatory and only occurs in this position and carries this simultaneous function. Deleting the relative marker *ve* ‘REL’ from the combination is ungrammatical, as in (52).

(51) *Ra ma ho Andi nye manu vati*  
 ra ma ho Andi ti-ne manu va-i  
 [1SG]go hither to.PERF Andi 3SG-POSS house NEU-SG

*na ha ve hetampi vati*  
 na ha ve he-t-ang=pi va-i  
 LOC day REL 3PL-PL-eat=thing NEU-SG  
 ‘I went to Andi’s house at the time they were eating.’

(52) *\*Ra ma ho Andi nye manu vati*  
 ra ma ho Andi ti-ne manu va-i  
 [1SG]go hither to.PERF Andi 3SG-POSS house NEU-SG

*na ha hetampi vati*  
 na ha he-t-ang=pi va-i  
 LOC day 3PL-PL-eat=thing NEU-SG  
 ‘I went to Andi’s house at the time they were eating.’

When the simultaneous clause precedes the main clause, the locative preposition *na* ‘LOC’ must be deleted and only leave *ha* ‘day’ + *ve* ‘REL’ to function as subordinator, as in (53). It is obligatory, so having the preposition in the construction is ungrammatical, as in (54).

- (53) *Ha ve mato mandam vati mara*  
 ha ve ma-t-o ma-t-ra=N va-i mara  
 day REL 1PL.EXC-PL-want 1PL.EXC-go-LIG NEU-SG that

*Agus con ria ma*  
 Agus ti-o=N ti=ra ma  
 Agus 3SG-want=LIG 3SG-go hither  
 ‘At the time we wanted to go, Agus came by.’

- (54) \**Na ha ve mato mandam vati*  
 na ha ve ma-t-o ma-t-ra=N va-i  
 LOC day REL 1PL.EXC-PL-want 1PL.EXC-go-LIG NEU-SG

*mara Agus con ria ma*  
 mara Agus ti-o=N ti=ra ma  
 that Agus 3SG-want=LIG 3SG-go hither  
 ‘At the time we wanted to go, Agus came by.’

Deletion of the preposition *na* ‘LOC’ in (53) goes along with the rule of fronting the adjunct in which a PP must become an NP in the discourse function slot at the beginning of the sentence (see §8.3.4).

#### 11.3.2.4. Concessive clauses

When two clauses express a contrast between two facts, the subordinator *vape* ‘although’ is used. The subordinator *vape* ‘although’ is just used to mark the concessive subordinate clause that follows the main clause, as in (55) and (56).

- (55) *Ria tenyau va vape ivo vekuru*  
 ti-ra ti-tanyau va vape i=vo ve-kuru  
 3SG-go 3SG-teach NEG although 3SG=FOC.NOM VBLZ-teacher

*na pandu havaru wampa*  
 na pandu havaru wang-pa  
 LOC village next there.2-DIST[NSG]  
 ‘He never goes teaching although he is a teacher in the neighbouring village there.’

- (56) *Meiriary riam a pe vape haw pampang*  
 Ti-mairiai ti-ra=ma pe vape hau pampang  
 3SG-lazy 3SG-go-hither DEIC although [1SG]call continuously  
 ‘He does not like to come although I call (him) again and again.’

This concessive subordinated clause is syntactically restricted to this position. It cannot have any other position, such as at the beginning of the sentence, as in (57).

- (57) \**Vape*            *haw*            *pampang*        *mara*            *meiriay*  
 Vape                hau                pampang        mara            ti-mairiai  
 Although            [1SG]call        continuously    that            3SG-lazy
- riama*            *pe*  
 ti-ra=ma        pe  
 3SG-go=hither    DEIC  
 ‘Although I call (him) again and again, he does not like to come.’

### 11.3.3. Relative clauses

A relative clause (RC) is a clause that functions as a noun modifier within a main clause (see Payne 1997, Andrews 2007b and Dixon 2010). From the definition, an RC is part of a noun phrase that functions to modify the head noun. The modification function of an RC is to provide specific, focused and restricted information about the noun being relativized (Andrews 2007b: 206, Dixon 2010: 314). Regarding constituents being relativized, all NPs with all syntactic roles are accessible for relativisation.

A relative clause in Wooi is always postnominal. The head noun is always positioned to the left of an RC. This is commonly expected for a language with VO word order (see Payne 1997: 326, Andrews 2007b). As a noun modifier, it is consistent with the position of other NP modifiers such as adjectives, numerals and demonstrative modifiers (see Chapter 4) which are also postnominal (see Andrews 2007b: 2010). An RC is always marked by the RC marker *ve(ve)* regardless of the position of an RC.

There are only restrictive RCs found in Wooi, which consist of a head noun and the relative clause itself (Payne 1997: 325). The restrictive RC functions to modify the head noun in which it narrows down any possible information available about the head noun in order to distinguish the head noun from other subsets in the clause (see Dixon, 2010). The RC is identified by the presence of the invariant relative marker *ve(ve)* ‘REL’. Thus, the structure of the restrictive RC is presented in (58).

Restrictive RC structure:

- (58) [[N<sub>HEAD</sub>        [ve(ve) ...]<sub>RC</sub> DET]]<sub>NP</sub>

The structure in (58) can be illustrated in (59) and (60).

- |      |                           |              |                  |                 |  |
|------|---------------------------|--------------|------------------|-----------------|--|
|      | N <sub>HEAD</sub>         | REL          | RC               | DET             |  |
| (59) | <i>Hiuntaray</i>          | <i>[veve</i> | <i>__tariay]</i> | <i>wampai</i>   |  |
|      | Hinyontarai               | veve         | tariay           | wang-pa-i       |  |
|      | Person                    | REL          | tall             | there.2-DIST-SG |  |
|      | 'The person who is tall.' |              |                  |                 |  |
- 
- |      |                                  |            |               |           |                   |
|------|----------------------------------|------------|---------------|-----------|-------------------|
| (60) | <i>Buku</i>                      | <i>[ve</i> | <i>__vata</i> | <i>na</i> | <i>meja ] pai</i> |
|      | buku                             | ve         | vata          | na        | meja pa-i         |
|      | book                             | REL        | be.placed     | LOC       | table DIST-SG     |
|      | 'The book that is on the table.' |            |               |           |                   |

### 11.3.3.1. NPs that can be relativized

A language may restrict which grammatical relations a relativized NP holds to. According to the Accessibility Hierarchy (Keenan and Comrie 1979) shown in Figure 11.1, in any given language, if one position on the hierarchy is relativizable, then all positions to the left are also accessible for relativization, though not necessarily through the same strategy.

Subject > Direct object > Indirect object > Oblique > Genitive > Object of comparative

Figure 11.1. The Accessibility Hierarchy

In Wooi, all grammatical relations (S, A, P/T and G) and genitive can be relativized except the object of a comparative. Further, Wooi allows relativization of NPs well down the universal Accessibility Hierarchy stated by Keenan and Comrie (1979). Subject is the highest in the hierarchy. This means subject is the argument that is most likely to be relativized. Wooi also allows other constituents that are equivalent to the PP oblique to be relativized. Thus, the NP of a locative adjunct and the NP of a temporal adjunct can also be relativized. Reflecting the Accessibility Hierarchy (Keenan and Comrie 1977), Wooi has the following hierarchy presented in Figure 11.2:

Subject > Object > Oblique > Locative NP > Temporal NP > Possessor

Figure 11.2. The Wooi NP Accessibility Hierarchy

All argument NPs and non-argument NPs that are accessible to relativization are described below.

### 11.3.3.1.1. Relativizing subjects

A relativized subject is always represented by gapping within an RC. Note that the antecedent NP of the relativized subject is not necessarily the subject in the main clause. The relativized NP could be an object NP or oblique NP in the main clause that then becomes the relativized subject within the relative clause, as in (61), (62) and (63).

- (61) *Hniuntaray veve mahoy na manu repong vanei*  
 hiuntarai veve mahoi na manu repong va-ne-i  
 person REL sit LOC house front DOWN-PRX-SG

*hiuhi*

ti-huhi  
 3SG-sick

‘The person who is sitting in front of the house is sick.’

- (62) *Piang kio antu veve na na Harui pai*  
 piang ti-ko antu veve na na Harui pa-i  
 already 3SG-bring child REL live LOC Serui DIST-SG

*to ne*  
 to ne  
 PERF Q

‘Has she already brought back her child who lives in Serui?’

- (63) *Andi tenatu surat ve vaving veve na na*  
 Andi ti-tanatu surat ve vaving veve na na  
 Andi 3SG-send letter for woman REL live LOC

*Manokwari vanei to*  
 Manokwari va-ne-i to  
 Manokwari NEU-PRX-SG PERF

‘Andi has send a letter to the woman who lives in Manokwari.’

Gapping is the obligatory marking for the relativized subject. Thus, it is ungrammatical when the verb within a RC takes a prefixed-subject marker as in (64).

- (64) \**Hiuntaray veve mehoy na manu repong vanei hiuhi*  
 hinyontarai veve ti-mahoi na manu repong va-ne-i ti-huhi  
 person REL 3SG-sit LOC house front NEU-PRX-SG 3SG-sick  
 ‘The person who is sitting in front of the house is sick’



### 11.3.3.1.2. Relativizing objects

Objects are also accessible for relativization in Wooi. To relativize an object, there are two strategies applied based on the semantics of the noun being relativized. When the noun being relativized is an inanimate noun, a pronominal copy (or pronominal retention) is applied. However, when the noun being relativized is a human noun, the gapping strategy is used.

In (65) and (66), the pronominal copy =a ‘OBJ.NSG’ anaphorically co-references with the noun object being relativized, i.e. *buku* ‘book’ (65) and *asurang* ‘pig’ (66).

- (65) *Buku veve ramdempe Agus tevayana pai*  
 buku veve ramdempe Agus ti-tavayang=a pa-i  
 book REL yesterday Agus 3SG-buy=OBJ.NSG DIST-SG
- vebacai to*  
 ve-baca=i to  
 [1/3SG]-VBLZ-read=OBJ.SG PERF  
 ‘The book that yesterday Agus bought I have read it.’

- (66) *Hemung asurang veve muang pai cona*  
 he-t-mung asurang veve muang pa-i ti-ong=a  
 3PL-PL-kill pig REL man DIST-SG 3SG-give=OBJ.NSG
- ve ya pai*  
 ve ya pa-i  
 for 1SG DIST-SG  
 ‘They killed a pig that that man gave to me.’

When an NP human or animate object of a matrix clause is relativized, the gapping strategy is used within the RC, as in (67). However, when the relative clause is in a cleft construction, the object being relativized is gapped within the RC and it has a pronominal copy for the object in the main clause as in (68).

- (67) *Jon rieho vaving veve intene rora\_\_ vati*  
 Jon ti-re-ho vaving veve intene rora va-i  
 John 3SG-eye-HO woman REL just.now [1SG]hit NEU-SG  
 ‘John saw the woman who I hit a while ago.’
- (68) *Vaving veve rora\_\_ vati Agus teriuti na intene*  
 vaving veve rora va-i Agus ti-tariu=i na intene  
 Woman REL [1SG]hit NEU-SG Agus 3SG-meet=3SG LOC just.now  
 ‘The woman who I hit, Agus saw her a while ago.’

A pronominal copy cannot be applied to the construction such as in (67) and (68). To do so is ungrammatical, as shown in (69) and (70).

(69) \**Jon rieho vaving veve intene rorai vati*  
 Jon ti-re-ho vaving veve intene rora=i va-i  
 John 3Sg-eye-HO woman REL just.now [1SG]hit=3SG NEU-SG  
 ‘John saw the woman who I hit a while ago.’

(70) \**Vaving veve rorai vati Agus teriuti na intene*  
 Vaving veve rora=i va-i Agus ti-tariu=i na intene  
 Woman REL [1SG]hit=3SG NEU-SG Agus 3SG-met=3SG LOC just.now  
 ‘The woman who I hit, Agus met her a while ago.’

### 11.3.3.1.3. Relativizing obliques

Oblique arguments are also accessible for relativization. When it is relativized, an object always takes the pronominal copy strategy. As the oblique is expressed in prepositional phrases in the basic clause structure, the pronominal copy will then attach to the preposition in the relative clause. The following examples in (71) and (72) illustrate the way an oblique is relativized.

(71) *Hhniuntaray [veve Jon cong buku vei ] pai*  
 hinyontarai veve Jon ti-ong buku ve=i pa-i  
 person REL John 3SG-give book for=3SG DIST-SG  
  
*rehoi*  
 re-ho=i  
 eye[1SG]-HO=3SG  
 ‘I saw the person who John gave a book to’

(72) *Kevio kong muang [veve tatong humbe*  
 ti-kavio kong muang veve ta-t-ong humbe  
 3SG-talk COM man REL 1PL.INC-PL-give machete  
  
*vehnia]* *pa hnia*  
 ve=hia pa hia  
 for=3PL DIST[NSG] 3PL  
 ‘He talked to the men that we gave machetes to.’

It is ungrammatical if the pronominal copy in the RC is deleted.

(73) \**Hninyontaray veve Jon cong buku ve\_\_pai rehoi* (cf. 71)

#### 11.3.3.1.4. Relativizing possessors

As discussed in Chapter 5, there are two main types of possessive constructions in Woi: direct and indirect possessive constructions. Both constructions are accessible for relativization. To do so, possessors are the NP to be relativized. The head noun that functions as the possessor can be either the subject or the object of the main clause. In the examples below, the possessive constructions of two types are relativized, as in (74) and (75).

- (74) *Vaving*      *veve*    *hinyani*                      *hanong*      *Eni*    *pai*  
vaving      veve    hinya-n-i                      hano-N      Eni    pa-i  
woman      REL    mother-3SG.PSR-SG.PSS    name-3SG      Eni    DIST-SG
- ti*                      *ramdempe*    *riang*                      *pa*    *ne*                      *pa*  
ti                      ramdempe    ti-rang                      pa    ne                      pa  
FOC.SG              yesterday      3SG-cook                  rice    PRX[NSG]              FOC  
‘The woman whose mother’s name is Eni cooked some rice yesterday.’

- (75) *Ramdempe*    *reho*                      *hninyontaray*    *ve*      *ne*      *wa*  
ramdempe      re-ho                      hinyontarai      ve      ne      wa  
yesterday      eye[1SG]-HO      person              REL      POSS      canoe
- wuoha*                      *pai*  
bu-vo=a                      pa-i  
2SG-paddle=OBJ.NSG      DIST-SG  
‘Yesterday I saw the man whose canoe you paddle with.’

Relative clauses can be constructed without a relative marker within a noun phrase. This construction commonly occurs in an applicative construction in which a human body part semantically refers as an instrument in order to do something. This was further described in §5.6.4.

#### 11.3.3.1.5. Instrument NPs

An instrumental NP being relativized only occurs in the applicative construction, not in the instrumental oblique. The applicative construction without a relative clause has been discussed in §6.4. However, an example is given here to distinguish a non-RC applicative construction, as in (76-77) a and an applicative with an RC (76-77b).

(76) a. *humbe ti heimperang ay wampai*  
 humbe ti he-t-in-perang ai wang-pa-i  
 machete FOC.SG 3PL-PL-APPL-cut tree there.2-DIST-SG  
 ‘It is the machete that they used to cut that tree.’

b. *Humbe veve heimperang ay wampai*  
 humbe veve he-in-perang ai wang-pa-i  
 machete REL 3PL-APPL-cut tree there.2-DIST-SG  
 ‘The machete that they used to cut that tree.’

(77) a. *Ay Mora ti amai heintong*  
 ai Mora ti amai he-t-in-ong  
 tree Mora FOC.SG [1SG]father 3PL-PL-APPL-make

*ve wa vati*  
 ve wa va-i  
 for canoe NEU-SG

‘It is the Mora tree that my father and associates used to make the canoe.’

b. *Ay veve amai heintona ve wa vati*  
 ai veve amai he-in-t-ong=OBJ.NSG ve wa va-i  
 tree REL [1SG]father 3PL-APPL-PL-make for canoe NEU-SG

*ay Mora*  
 ay Mora  
 tree Mora

‘The tree that my father and associates use to make a canoe is the Mora tree.’

As mentioned, it is impossible to construct a relative clause with an instrumental in the oblique position. The sentence with an instrumental oblique as in (78b) is not accessible for relativisation, as in (78a).

(78) a. *\*Ay veve amai hetong wa vati*  
 ai veve amai he-t-ong wa va-i  
 tree REL [1SG]father 3PL-PL-make canoe NEU-SG

*hoa pai ay Mora*  
 ho=a pa-i i Mora  
 INS=OBJ DIST-SG tree Mora

‘The tree that my father and associates make a canoe with is the Mora tree.’

b. *Amai hetong wa vati ho ay Mora*  
 Amai he-t-ong wa va-i ho ai Mora  
 [1SG]father 3PL-PL-make canoe NEU-SG INS tree Mora  
 ‘My father and associates make the canoe with the Mora tree.’

### 11.3.3.1.6. Locative NPs

Locative adjuncts are also accessible for relativization. To do so, they take a gapping strategy, by having the preposition *na* ‘LOC’ without any locative referent.

This is exemplified in (79) and (80).

- (79) *Mehoy*      *na*      *rabiang*      *veve*      *hendora*      *Tinus*  
 ti-mahoi      na      rabiang      veve      he-t-rora      Tinus  
 3SG-sit      LOC      location      REL      3PL-PL-hit      Tinus

*na* \_\_\_\_\_      *pa*  
*na*      *pa*  
 LOC      DIST[NSG]

‘He is sitting at the location where they hit Tinus at.’

- (80) *Yariuti*      *na*      *nu*      *ve*      *hampompe*      *urariu*  
 y-ariu-i      na      nu      ve      hampompe      u-r-ariu  
 1SG-meet-3SG      LOC      place      REL      in.the.past      1DU.EXC-DU-meet

*aru*      *na* \_\_\_\_\_      *vaw*  
 aru      na      vau  
 1DU.INC      LOC      NEU[NSG]

‘I met him at the place where we met last time.’

Having a locative referent overtly present in the relative clause is ungrammatical in

Wooi, as in (81).

- (81) \**Yariuti*      *na*      *nu*      *ve*      *hampompe*      *urariu*  
 y-ariu-i      na      nu      ve      hampompe      u-r-ariu  
 1SG-meet-3SG      LOC      place      REL      in.the.past      1DU.EXC-DU-meet

*aru*      *na*      *nu*      *vaw*  
 aru      na      nu      vau  
 1DU.INC      LOC      place      NEU[NSG]

‘I met him at the place where we met last time.’

### 11.3.3.2. Headless RCs

Another type of relative clause in Wooi is the headless relative clause. This type of RC does not associate with any head noun. In Wooi, headless relative clauses commonly occur at the beginning of the sentence and sometimes in other positions in sentences. The headless RC semantically can stand as a sufficient referent for the omitted head noun and it syntactically shows the structure of the NP. All grammatical relations, i.e. subject, object, and oblique and also possessor can be relativized with the

headless RC. Each grammatical relation follows the same strategy applied for the head RC, i.e. gapping for the subject, the object, and the locative NP, and pronominal copy for the oblique.

Headless RC can associate with a subject when it applies a gapping strategy in the subject position within an RC and the object is present, as in (82) and (83).

- (82) *Ve*    \_\_\_*perang*    *Tinus* *hnia*    *pa*            *hnia*  
 ve            perang    Tinus   hia    pa            hia  
 REL            cut            Tinus   3PL    DIST[NSG]    3PL

*hninyontaray wampai*  
 hinyontarai    wang-pa-i  
 person            there.2-DIST-SG  
 ‘The one who cut Tinus and associates is that person.’

- (83) *Remuho*    *veve*    *racune*    \_\_\_*mahoy*    *na*    *nine*  
 re-mu-HO    veve    racune    mahoi    na    ning-ne  
 eye-2SG-HO    REL    last night    sit    LOC    here-PRX[NSG]

*pai*            *e*  
 pa-i            e  
 DIST-SG            Q  
 ‘Did you see who sat here last night?’

The headless RC can be identified if it is the object that is relativized when the gap strategy occurs in the object position within the RC and the subject is present in the RC, as in (84).

- (84) *Veve* *hendora*\_\_\_    *na*    *ramdempe*    *pai*  
 veve    he-t-rora    na    ramdempe    pa-i  
 REL    3PL-PL-hit    LOC    yesterday    DIST-SG  
 ‘The one that they hit yesterday.’

The headless RC can modify an oblique identified by the pronominal copy attaches to the preposition in the RC, as in (85).

- (85) *Ve*    *yong*            *doy*    *vei*            *pai*    *muang*    *wampai*  
 ve    y-ong            doy    ve=i            pa-i    muang    wang-pa-i  
 REL    1SG-give            money    for=3SG            DIST-SG    man    there.2-DIST-SG  
 ‘The one that I gave some money to was that man.’

The headless RC can consist of the possessor and the thing possessed, as in (86) and (87).

(86) *Ve ne manu baba wampai*  
 ve ne manu baba wang-pa-i  
 REL POSS[1SG] house big there.2-DIST-SG  
 'The one whose house is big.'

(87) *Buong ve ama veve nyempai*  
*Bu-ong ve ama veve ne-i=pa-i*  
 2SG-give for 1PLE.EXC REL POSS-3SG=DIST-SG  
 'Give us (the thing) that he possesses.'

# Chapter 12 – Topic and focus constructions

## 12.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses topic and focus constructions in Woi. The discussion focuses on the structural properties of overtly marked topic and focus in different constructions found in the language.

This chapter is organized as follows: section 12.2 gives an overview of the general concepts of topic and focus constructions and their possible expression. Section 12.3 discusses the extended clause structure in Woi, in which a slot for participants with specific discourse functions forms part of the syntactic structure. In §12.4., topic constructions are discussed. This section elaborates on the different types of topics that are grammatically encoded in Woi. In §12.5, focus is described. Two different types of focus are further discussed in this section. In section 12.6, the description of focus constructions and interrogative sentences is elaborated in order to illustrate the various uses of focus constructions in interrogative sentences. Section 12.7 discusses other constructions in which focus markers occur, including double focus constructions.

## 12.2. Topic, focus and their markings

Information structure concerns the packaging of information within an utterance; i.e. how linguistic structures are used to state and build up meaningful communicative interaction in specific discourse contexts (Vallduví and Engdahl 1992, Lambrecht 1994, Payne 1997, Kroeger 2004, Van Valin and LaPolla 1997, Foley 2007, Klamer 2010). As set out in Lambrecht (1994: 36), information structure mainly deals with the



fundamental pragmatic concepts of: (i) propositional information: presupposition and assertion; (ii) identifiability and activation; and (iii) topic and focus. These three pragmatic concepts relate to different kinds of information, including foreground vs. background, retrievable vs. non-retrievable, and new vs. old, and the ways of indicating them in the communicative discourse. These pragmatic concepts can be expressed through linguistic formal structure in terms of prosodic and/or morpho-syntactic structures (see Vallduví 1996, Payne 1997, Foley 2007, and Dik 1997).

Topic (TOP) and focus (FOC) are two distinct but related information structure concepts that are commonly found to be grammatically marked in many languages. The concepts have been intensively studied by many scholars. Different terms have also been used to refer to similar pairs of information structure concepts, such as ground-focus, topic-comment, topic-focus, and theme-rheme (Halliday 1967, Vallduví 1992, Vallduví and Engdahl 1996, Lambrecht 1994, Gundel 1999, Erteschik-Shir 2007, Dalrymple & Nikolaeva 2011). TOP and FOC are mainly referential expressions in discourse that relate to givenness vs. newness. They contribute to certain patterns of information structure which are encoded grammatically in different ways (e.g. prosody, morphology, syntax) (see Erteschik-Shir 2007, Gundel 1999).

Topic (TOP) is typically associated with theme, given, old or topical information. It relates to what a statement is about and is already known by or established in the speaker's knowledge and it is expected to be the same as the hearer's. Topic as a broad category can be categorized into different types depending on its functions, to express specific information required by the discourse. The different types of topic include contrastive topic, reintroduced topic, switch topic, primary topic, secondary topic, and continued topic.

Focus (FOC), on the other hand, deals with new information. It can be defined as "the semantic component of a pragmatically structured proposition whereby the

assertion differs from the presupposition” (Lambrecht 1994: 213). It mainly deals with speaker’s prior knowledge that probably has not yet been established as the hearer’s knowledge. Thus, the speaker aims to supply new information to the hearer. It is also a broad category that can be categorized into different types representing how the information is expressed. The types include completive and gap focus and contrastive focus.

Figure 12.1 illustrates the sub-categories of Topic and Focus, as established by Choi (1999) and Arka (2016). This categorization will be used to show how TOP and FOC are encoded in the grammar of Woor.

Information packaging	Prominence/Saliency		
	+	←————→ -	
Newness:	+	FOCUS	
	↑	Contrastive Focus	Completive/Gap Focus
		TOPIC	
	↓	Contrastive Topic	Tail
		Primary Topic	
		Secondary Topic	
		Reintroduced Topic (and switch Topic)	
-	Continued Topic		

Figure 12.1. Different sub-categories of topic and focus established by Choi (1999) and Arka (2016)

Figure 12.1 shows that the different types of topic and focus can be described in terms of two parameters, i.e. degrees of newness, and prominence or saliency of the information in which plus (+) show the characteristic of the newest and more prominent information.

In contrastive TOP the given information is contrary to some predicted or stated alternative possibilities (Molnár 2001). Further, Erteschik-Shir (2007: 48-49) states, “contrast is contextually constrained to occur only if a contrast set is available...one member of the contrast set provided in the context is selected...”. Primary TOP and

secondary TOP are two notions dealing with the possibility of multiple topics. They deal with several topics in an utterance that simultaneously increase the hearer's knowledge about several referents (Nikolaeva 2001). Nikolaeva (2001: 8) argues, "primary TOP is more important, continuous and recurrent than the secondary TOP." Taking Givón's concept, she states that the primary TOP tends to be encoded cross-linguistically as a subject, while the secondary TOP tends to be encoded as a direct object. Considering the relation between grammatical relations and semantic roles, secondary topic in some languages triggers the promotion of semantic roles, by any possible grammatical means, of argument other than patient/theme to the direct object role. It is also common for the primary topic to be represented by the grammatical relation of subject. Reintroduced TOP is a topic that has already been introduced into the discourse (focus), and is then reintroduced further along in the discourse (see Gundel 1999, Leube 2000: 55). This reintroduced TOP can be primary TOP or secondary TOP or event contrastive TOP. Reintroducing a topic often requires switching of topics (Switch TOP) in which one already-introduced topic switches with another newly-introduced or reintroduced topic across the discourse. A reintroduced TOP and a switch TOP function to track a referent that moves in and out of topic function across the discourse, especially when there are several TOP participants present in the discourse (see Erteschik-Shir 2007: 135). Continued TOP is a topic that has already been introduced and continues as the TOP across a stretch of discourse whether the discourse involves several events or not (see Erteschik-Shir 2007, Gundel and Fretheim 2004). These types of TOP are illustrated in (1).

- (1) a. As for **John**, **he** ate the bananas **Agus** gave **me** this morning.  
b. Which **John**?  
c. **Jimmy's brother** who just graduated from high school last week.

- d. Oh, **the one** who just turned 18 last month? I just saw **him** talking to **Andy** and **Andy** asked **him** to buy some cigarettes, so **he** has left already.
- e. **Andy** came and talked to **Jimmy, his brother**, for a while. **They** were sitting and drinking some coffee when **John** came back with some packs of cigarettes.

John in (1a) is a contrastive TOP specifying the person who ate the bananas. The same TOP is continued in (1b) by means of proper name 'John' and in (1c) by means of genitive construction 'Jimmy's brother'. In (1d) 'John' is repeatedly referred to by pronouns denoting a prominent referent in the discourse that continues as the topic, so a continued TOP. In (1e), John is reintroduced after the established event involves other referents (Andy and Jimmy). Both reintroduced TOP and Continued TOP can function as subject and object in the sentence. This also shows that they are primary and secondary TOP, respectively.

In terms of focus, there are two types, i.e. Contrastive Focus and Completive/gap focus. The former is more prominent than the latter. Contrastive FOC is a new prominent focus that distinguishes an entity from other entities in the hearer's expected knowledge. It can pragmatically mean specificity and/or emphasis to particular referents as opposed to other generic or common referents. Completive FOC is a new informed focus about the topic that is not known by the hearer. Choi (1999: 6) defines completive focus as "the regular, pure new information type of focus" in a discourse and contrastive focus is a type of new focus referring to "the alternative-set-evoking focus". It is also correlated with questioned position in the relevant *wh*-question or alternative *yes-no* question that require a focused answer (see Gundel and Fretheim 2000).

- (2) a. **Whom** did Max give the book to?  
 b. **It is Joe.**  
 c. **Who** is Joe?  
 d. **The man** who talked to you yesterday in front of your house.

In (2a), *whom* is the concessive focus as a new information in relation to the given information *Max* in the sentence and it is specified by a contrastive focus *It is Joe* in (b). The question word *who* is also a focus in (b) and *Joe* is the continued topic. *The man* in (c) is another completive focus.

The different types of topic and focus mentioned are also found to be relevant in other languages, although they might vary in their formal coding. In Papuan Malay, an NP referent functioning as TOP or FOC must agree with its pronominal referent whether in verbs or other hosts. In (3a), the question word *sapa* ‘who’ and *Agus* are the completive focus that then become different types of topic such as continued topic (b) and (d), reintroduced topic (c) and (e). In (e), *orang itu* ‘that person’ is the contrastive focus in the sentence in order to clarify and specify the question word *sapa* ‘who’ in (a).

- (3) a. ***Sapa yang bikin Agus de=manangis?***  
 Who REL make Agus 3SG=cry  
 ‘Who made Agus cry?’
- b. ***Tra=tau. Tadi sa=datang tu de=su= manangis.***  
 Not=know. recently sa=come DIST.FOC 3Sg=PERF=cry  
 ‘Don’t know. When I came a while ago he was already crying.’
- c. ***Ah, tadi tu Agus de=dapa=pukul.***  
 Ah, recently DIST.FOC Agus de=get=hit  
 ‘Ah, Agus was hit a while ago.’
- d. ***De=dapa=pukul dari sapa?***  
 3SG=get=hit from who  
 ‘Who hit him?’
- e. ***Orang itu=tu de=yang pukul Agus.***  
 Person that=DIST.FOC 3SG=REL hit Agus  
 ‘That person there, he is the one who hit Agus.’

In terms of marking, different coding properties are used, and they vary across languages. Commonly found ways of coding information structure categories include different kinds of prosodic, morphological, and syntactic resources such as a pitch contour, a morpheme, a particle, and a lexical category (e.g. NP, pronoun, elided NP) (Arka 2016: 4) and even different syntactic structures. A category may be marked by

only one type of resource or by a combination of more than one kind resource to build up particular TOP and FOC constructions. For instance in the English examples in (1) and (2), Contrastive Topic is realized with left-dislocation (syntactic resource) and an NP (lexical resource), as in (1a), and Continued TOP is realized with pronouns (lexical pronoun) as in (1d). Contrastive Focus in English is also realized with left-dislocation (syntactic resource) and an NP (lexical resource) as in (2d). In Papuan Malay in (3), TOPs take NPs which agree with the subject marker on the verb as in (3a) and (c); whereas FOC undergoes left-dislocation and the focus marker =*tu* ‘DIST.FOC’ as formal coding, as in (e).

In Wooi, I will only describe the types of topic and focus that are grammatically encoded by particles and by their presence in syntactic positions in the extended clause, which includes reintroduced topic, switch topic, continued topic and contrastive topic, completive focus and contrastive focus.

### 12.3. Extended clausal structure: topic and focus

One way in which topic and focus are grammatically marked in Wooi is through association with two positions in the extended clause structure. As described in Chapter 7, the basic clause structure in Wooi is that shown in (4), where the word order is fixed, and so there is a direct mapping of structure and grammatical relations. The SUBJ grammatical relation obligatorily attaches to the verb without any necessary NP. Other post-verbal elements, whether argument or non-argument, may be expressed as pronouns, or within lexical NPs and PPs.

- (4)    Pro-V            NP    PP    PP  
        SUBJ-PRED    OBJ    OBL    ADJ

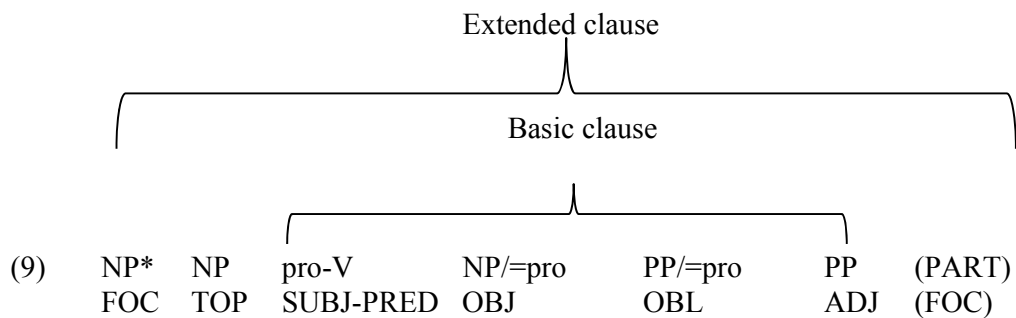
This structure in (4) is exemplified in (5).

- (5)    *Hia*            *vaving*            *vanei*            *na*    *ramdempe*  
        ti-ha            vaving            va-ne-i            na    ramdempe  
        3SG-call        woman            NEU-PRX-SG    LOC    yesterday  
        ‘He/she called the woman yesterday.’

The ways in which a participant is expressed within a basic clause, like that in (5), indicates aspects of its information structure. For example, a continued topic is only expressed by the prefixed-SUBJ, and typically has the function of referring to a participant that was previously mentioned as either TOP or FOC. Whereas, reintroduced TOP or switch TOP is expressed by a lexical NP and typically denotes topicalized referents mentioned before. However, if a referent is pragmatically prominent or salient, such as a contrastive topic or contrastive focus, then it may be marked as such in the syntax of the extended clause. The extended structure introduces any prominent referent, expressed as either a lexical or pronominal NP, in the clause-initial position as shown in (6), (7) and (8). In (6), it is only a topic that fills the pragmatic slot in the clause-initial position. In (7), when a contrastive focus is introduced to the clause, it also takes the clause-initial position and a focus particle in clause-final position. When a completive focus (new information) and a contrastive topic (given information) are placed together in the discourse, they must both be placed in the pre-verbal position, which is the position of the extended clause preserved for the pragmatic slot as in (8).

- (6) TOP  
**Anti mantaung cong nye manu vati**  
 Anti mantaung ti-ong ne-i manu va-i  
 3SG only 3SG-make POSS-3SG.PSR house NEU-SG  
 ‘As for him, he himself made his house.’
- (7) FOC FOC  
**Buku ninei ti yoni ho aw pa**  
 buku ning-ne-i ti y-ong=i ho au pa  
 Book here-PRX-SG FOC.SG 1SG-give=3SG DIR 2SG FOC  
 ‘It is this book that I gave to you.’
- (8) FOC TOP  
**Hninyontaray wampai anti mantaung riora**  
 hinyontarai wang-pa-i anti mantaung ti-rora  
 person there.2-DIST-SG 3SG only 3SG-hit  
  
**Yulesi na ramdempe**  
 Yules=i na ramdempe  
 Yules=3SG LOC yesterday  
 ‘That person there, he alone hit Yules yesterday.’

This has been also introduced in Chapter 7. The extended clause structure exemplified in (6), (7) and (8) can be systematized as in (9).



When a sentence has a focus and a topic introduced together, it has the following characteristics:

- i. The focus takes the left-most position in the extended clause and the topic follows the focus. This goes along with cross-linguistic tendencies in structuring new information – focus – before old/given information pragmatically (Erteschik-Shir 2007: 7). The asterisk (\*) in NP focus position shows that there is a possibility to have up to two focused elements in this slot. This is further described in §12.7.
- ii. Any element fronted, except for adjunct PPs, is also encoded by a pronominal copy within the basic clause structure. This agreement establishes that the extended clause structure is monoclausal, and sets up anaphoric participant tracking.
- iii. The status of anaphoric agreement of the subject is different from that of the object or oblique. The subject marker is always present regardless of the pragmatic status of the subject. Whereas, the pronominal copy is required only when the object and the oblique occur in the fronted position, and are syntactically marked by a clitic in the basic clause.



- iv. The focus particle placed clause-finally is restricted to contrastive focus. Other focal elements that occur pre-verbally do not co-occur with this clause-final particle.

The specific structure of topic and focus constructions and their types is discussed in more detail below.

In terms of marking, topic and focus in Woori are typically marked with different morpho-lexical resources. Table 12.1 highlights the possible expressions of topic and focus in Woori.

Table 12.1. Possible morpho-lexical ways of marking topic and focus in Woori.

Topic/Focus	Morpho-lexical resources				Pre-verbal NP (left-dislocation)
	Lexical NP	PRO/Clitic	Verbal AGR	Particle	
Reintroduced TOP	√	-	√	-	-
Switch TOP	√	-	√	-	-
Continued TOP	-	√	√	-	-
Contrastive TOP	-	√	√	-	√
Completive FOC	√	-	√	-	-
Contrastive FOC	√	√	√	√	√

As shown in Table 12.1, different types of topic and focus in Woori are encoded with different lexical, morphological and syntactic resources.

#### 12.4. Topic

Woori has different kinds of topic expressed in the language but four types of topic are grammatically encoded. The four types of topic are reintroduced topic, switch topic, continued topic and contrastive topic. There are two different grammatically marked categories that are associated with sets of pragmatic topic categories. Reintroduced and switch topics are marked by a lexical NP that also agrees with the verbal agreement, while continued topic and contrastive topic are marked by pronoun or clitic and verbal agreement. Reintroduced topic and switch topic usually appear together

in the discourse and use the same coding as they describe the phenomenon of reintroduced-and-switching referents in the multi-referent participants involving in a discourse. For instance, in the frog story, there are at least the following participants – a small child, a dog, frog, bees, and a deer. They take turns to appear in the story in two ways – prominence of the participants and grammatical roles in the discourse. All participants take turns to become more prominent and less prominent referents and all participants also take turn to become subject, object or oblique in the discourse. When the reintroduced topic or switch topic grammatically functions as subject NP, it agrees with the subject marker on the verb. This requires reintroduction and switching the topic.

Continued TOP in texts refers to topicalized referents that are pragmatically continuous from the same given topic in the discourse. This occurs when in a text, the same given topic is delivered several times during the utterances without changing to different given topicalized referents (reintroduced or switch topics). In terms of marking, the continued TOP in Woori is encoded by both free pronouns and bound pronouns (the subject marker) the object clitic on verbs and oblique clitic on prepositions (see §12.4.2). Contrastive TOP refers to any topicalized referent that is distinguished from any possible expected referents of the hearer's knowledge. Contrastive TOP in Woori is usually marked with free pronouns, regardless of its grammatical relation status, in the left-dislocated position of the pragmatic slot preceding the predicate (see §12.4.3).

The four types of TOP vary in their occurrences in the texts. In two texts of which the number of formal coding properties was observed, continued TOP is the most common one and is followed by reintroduced TOP. Contrastive TOP is only found in elicited data. For example, examining the frog story text in Wooi, the following patterns can be seen as in Figure 12.2. The continued topic represented by the subject marker on verbs with NP elided is the most common one. It has 98 occurrences (out of 175 topic occurrences) or 56%. The reintroduced topic and switch topic with SUBJ NP occurs 33 times (out of 175) or 18.9%. The reintroduced topic and switch topic with OBJ NP occurs 27 times (out of 175) or 15.4%. The reintroduced and or switch OBJ NP has 27 occurrences (out of 175) or 15.4%. The last, the continued topic with OBJ pronouns or clitics occur 17 times (out of 175) or 9.7%. Figure 12.2 shows the diagram of the occurrences of types of topic in natural texts.

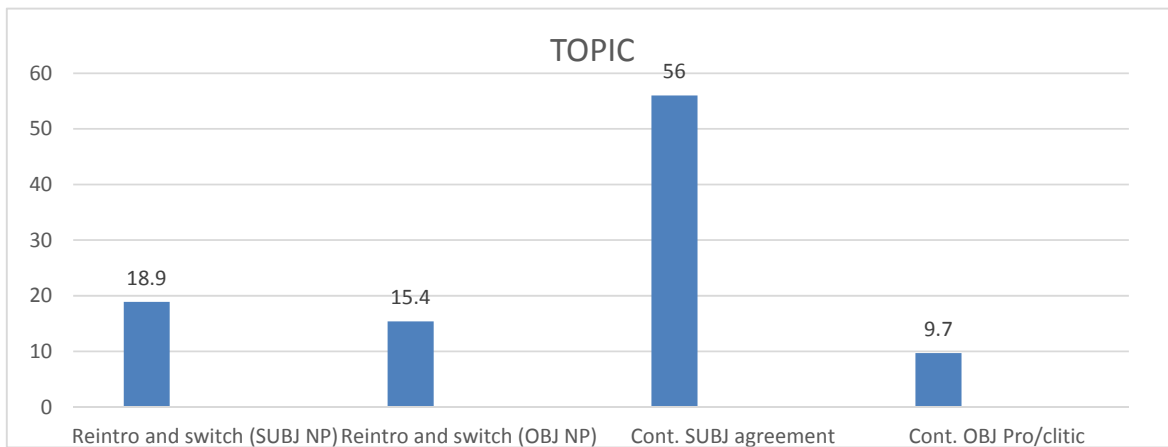


Figure 12. 2. Occurrences of Reintroduced Topic and Continued Topic in Wooi texts.

Figure 12.2 illustrates that the communicative patterns of Wooi do not require that an NP subject be overtly expressed in the discourse as the subject marker on verbs is enough to address the topicalized referent when it has been introduced before, especially when the discourse refers to the same given topic. To track referents in a long discourse involving more than two participants, Wooi speakers tend to frequently reintroduce or switch participants in the topicalized subject or the object positions in the

form of NPs. Pronouns or clitics are also used to indicate the continued topic or object but it is likely to be lowest in the occurrences.

#### **12.4.1. Reintroduced topic and switch topic**

Reintroduced and switch TOP are best described together as they occur in the almost the same discourse context with different pragmatic function as described in section 12.2. The two topics are restated topics from the previous ones so the audience/hearer can follow the flow of the discourse by distinguishing other potential topics in the discourse. As mentioned, they always occur in a discourse with different referents involved. The types of topics are used in sections of discourse that have the following features: a) long sections of discourse involving several participant referents, b) complicated and irregular patterns of events – sequential events, flashback events, chronological events, etc, and c) the changing of grammatical roles of participant referents in the discourse.

As mentioned, irregular patterns of events in the discourse and different potential topics require an identification of topic referents in different grammatical roles of referents. Thus, the reintroduced topic and switch topic grammatically require an NP to be present in the discourse whether the same topic is reintroduced or a different topic is involved. In the frog story, for instance, the different topics appear in different grammatical relations and they switch their grammatical roles throughout the story. In (10a) the subject NP, *ariang katung nei* ‘the small child’, and object NP, *wona nei* ‘this dog’, are both new information mentioned here for the first time. Then, in (10b), the same topics are mentioned as continued topics in which *ariang katung* is marked with the subject marker *ti-* ‘3SG’ on the verb and the other topic is marked with an NP. In (10c), there is a switch in grammatical role in which *wona nei* ‘this dog’ which is previously a topicalized object NP switches its grammatical role as the topicalized subject but as it is a new topicalized role, it is reintroduced with the NP. Throughout the

story (10d), *ariang katung* ‘small child’ is reintroduced again as the topicalized subject.

Thus, it is reintroduced again with an NP.

- (10) a. *Ariang katung nei*            *o:*    *coung*            *wona pei...*  
 ariang katung ne-i            o    ti-oung            wona pe-i  
 child small PRX-SG            FILL 3SG-look.for dog UP-SG  
 ‘This small child is looking for this dog...’ [frogstory2\_JK 001-002]
- b. *kong o:*    *coung*            *wona nei*    *mara re*            *ra...*  
 kong o    **ti**-oung            wona ne-i    mara **ti**-re-ho            ra  
 COM o    3SG-look.after dog PRX-SG then 3SG-eye-HO thither  
 ‘he looks after this dog then he sees...’ [frogstory2\_JK 003-004]
- c. *vew ma wona nei mey na toples nei raro*  
 veu mara wona ne-i **ti**-mahoi    na toples ne-i raro  
 down then dog PRX-SG 3SG-sit    LOC jar PRX-SG inside  
 ‘down then the dog is sitting inside the jar...’ [frogstory2\_JK 005]
- d. *...ariang katung nei piovar ra cow ho ay...*  
 ariang katung ne-i **ti**-pova    ra **ti**-ou ho ai  
 child small PRX-SG 3SG-climb    tither 3SG-climb DIR tree  
 ‘...the small child is climbing the tree...’ [frogstory2\_JK 061]

All NPs, whether they are reintroduced or switch topics, functioning as topicalized subject in terms of their grammatical relations, always agree with the subject marker on verbs and the subject marker on verbs might indicate whether the same topic is continued topic and not in the same clause or discourse. For instance, the subject marker *ti*- ‘3SG’ on the verb *oung* ‘look after’ and *reho* ‘see’ in (10b) indicates that it is the continued topic of the same subject referent, which is *ariang katung nei* ‘this small child’ introduced in (10a).

#### 12.4.2. Continued topic

When across a section of discourse the same participant remains as the topic, typically expressed as the subject in Wooi, the referent is not usually restated as an NP but marked only by agreement marking on the verb instead. Thus, the subject marker on verbs always indicates continued topic in which the topic referent is restated by eliding the referent NP. When a topic functions grammatically as an object, then a clitic object will represent the continued topic. However, in Wooi this is not as frequent as the

topicalized subject. For instance, in the *marga* story or clan story of the Woi, the chronological order and sequential events relating to the arrival of each clan are described. In this part of the story, the speaker describes how the ancestor of Werimon clan leaves his original place near Sorong in the Bird's Head region of West Papua and comes to live in Woi. To do so, the speaker introduces the NP *Werimon ne hia* 'the Werimons' at the beginning of the story as new information. This construction is repeatedly mentioned again as a strategy to topicalize the NP, and then is repeated throughout this section of the story in terms of subject agreement *he-* '3PL' on the verbs. The subject agreement is a continued topic to indicate that the story still relates to the same referent as in (11).

- (11) a. **Werimong** *ne* **hia**, **Wermong** *ne* **hia**  
 Wermong ne hia. Wermong ne hia  
 Werimon PRX[NSG] 3PL, Werimon PRX[NSG] 3PL
- o:* **henda** *na* *pei*  
 o he-t-ra na pe-i  
 FILL 3PL-PL-go LOC UP-SG
- o:* *a:* *hiha* *Sorong* *riti* *ma...*  
 o a hiha Sorong riti ma  
 FILL FILL mainland Sorong outside hither  
 'The Werimon clan came here from up there, the mainland Sorong out there...' [MARGA\_JK]
- b. *...henda* *ma* *o:* **hena** *payna* *ma*  
 he-t-ra ma o he-t-na payna ma  
 3PL-PL-go hither FILL 3PL-PL-stay so then
- henda** **henda** *kuyra* *ma* *mara* **hena**  
 he-t-ra he-t-ra kuyra ma mara he-t-na  
 3PL-PL-go 3PL-PL-go together hither then 3PL-PL-stay
- kuyra* *na* *pei* *no:* ...  
 kuyra na pe-i o  
 together LOC UP-SG FILL  
 '...they came and stayed so then they came here together then stayed together here...' [MARGA\_JK]

A continued topic referent may also be expressed as for object argument in the discourse. In the frog story, when the small child is looking for his dog, the clitic =*i* '3SG' attached to the verb *hehara* 'search' is a continued topic following from its

reintroduction into the discourse as topic in the first clause in (12) where it is expressed by the lexical NP *wona* ‘dog’ functioning as the subject. Then, throughout the section, *wona* ‘dog’ switches its grammatical role from the subject role to an object role and *hinyong katung* ‘small child’ is not the subject. As *wona* ‘dog’ is now an object and there are only two continued topics, then the topicalized object is marked with the clitic =*i* ‘3SG’ to the verb *hehara* ‘search’, as in (12).

- (12) ...*mae*            **wona** *mey*            *rurang*            *mey*  
 mae            wona   ti-mahai            rurang            ti-mahai  
 but            dog    3SG-sit            be.in.parallel    3SG-sit
- na*    *kami*   *ru*   *vat*    *hinyong*    *katung vetaw*            *va*  
 na    kami   ru   va-i    hinyong    katung ve-tau            va  
 LOC   stone   stem   NEU-SG   child    small   [3SG]VBLZ-know    NEG
- pa*    *mey*            *ma*   *hia*            *hehara i...*  
 payna   ti-mahai            mara   ti-ha            hehara   i  
 so.that   3SG-sit            then   3SG-call            search   3SG  
 ‘...but the dog is sitting beside, it is sitting in parallel with the stone so the small child doesn’t know so he is sitting there and is calling out in searching) for the dog...’ [frogstory2\_JK]

Besides the person marking on verbs, a continued topic can also be expressed by a free pronoun. The free pronoun represents a continued topic that can be characterized by the following morpho-syntactic properties: a) the free pronoun only occurs when the continued topic is an object and b) it is used as a participant referent (mainly subject) when the verb is a dependent bare verb in which the verb does not agree with the subject marker. In (13), *haru* ‘3DU’ is used as the continued topic referring to both the small child and the dog in part of frog story in (13a). It also agrees with continued topic indicated by subject agreement as in the part of the story in (b). Note also that the free pronoun *haru* ‘3DU’ is used because the following verb *kutu* ‘cross’ is a dependent bare verb that does not agree with the person and number of the subject, and so *haru* ‘3DU’ stands as its continued topic referent and it is also the continued topic functioning as an object.

- (13) a. ...*mae*      *hioy*      *tuturi*      *husoy*      *rarey*  
           *mae*      *ti-hoi*      *tutu=i*      *hu-r-hoi*      *ra=rei*  
           *but*      *3SG-swim*      *with=3SG*      *3DU-DU-swim*      *thither=land*
- payna hinyong katung nei*      *kevio*      *ve*  
           *paina hinyong katung ne-i*      *ti-kavio*      *ve*  
           *so child small PRX-SG*      *3SG-talk*      *for*
- wona nei ma co ayrauki*  
           *wona ne-i mara ti-oyo bu-airaki*  
           *dog PRX-SG then 3SG-say 2PL-silent*  
           ‘but he swims with it (the dog), they swim landwards so the small child talks  
           to the dog then he says, “keep silent!”’ [frogstory2\_JK]

- b. ...*hunda*      *humpova*      *haru*      *kutu*      *o:*  
           *hu-r-ra*      *hu-r-pova*      *haru*      *kutu*      *o*  
           *3DU-DU-go*      *3DU-DU-climb*      *3DU*      *cross*      *FILL*
- ay rabiang vaw ey wona pempong haru...*  
           *ai rabiang vau ei wona ti-pamong haru*  
           *tree center NEU[NSG] one dog 3SG-beginning 3DU*  
           ‘Both of them (the small child and his dog) went and crossed in the middle of  
           the tree, the dog walked first and was followed by the child...’ [frogstory2\_JK]

The discourse also allows a continued topic to take different person and number properties across different clauses. For example, in the frog story, the two given topic NPs, i.e. small child and the dog, are sometimes referred to as a unitary dual entity. Thus, the third dual subject marker *hu-* ‘3DU’ on the verb *hoy* ‘swim’ refers back to the previously mentioned two referents, the boy and the dog, that are expressed by the subject marker *ti-* ‘3SG’ on the verb *hoi* ‘swim’ and the enclitic *=i* ‘3SG’ on the word *tutu* ‘with’, respectively. The continued topic expresses the subject marker attached to verbs, as in (14).

- (14) ...*hinyong*      *katung nei*      *herava*      *wona nei*      *ma*  
           *hinyong*      *katung ne-i*      *ti-harava*      *wona ne-i*      *mara*  
           *child*      *small PRX-SG*      *3SG-lift.up*      *dog PRX-SG*      *then*
- cong ma mey na riukami nei mae*  
           *ti-ong mara ti-mahoi na riukami ne-i mae*  
           *3SG-put then 3SG-sit LOC [3SG]head PRX-SG but*
- hioy tutur husoy rarey...*  
           *ti-hoi tutu=i hu-r-hoi ra=rei*  
           *3SG-swim with=3SG 3DU-DU-swim thither=landward*  
           ‘The small child lifted and put the dog on his head and he swam together with it  
           (dog), they (two) swam landwards...’ [frogstory2\_JK]



### 12.4.3. Contrastive topic

Contrastive topic is a type of topic that is placed in contrast to another potential topic participants (see Erteschik-Shir 2007). Contrastive topic is marked grammatically in Woori by means of a left-dislocation strategy and an NP representing the topic referent. Left-dislocation (also fronting) is a strategy to accommodate the extended clause in the Woori's clause structure. Left-dislocation is particularly used to present 'a contrast' whether as a focus contrast or a topic contrast. A free pronoun is used to represent the topic itself and it is always positioned in the immediate pragmatic slot to the predicate or before the NP subject. All grammatical relations can function as contrastive topic.

A contrastive topic is clearly shown by a pre-verbal NP in the topic position. In (15), a benefactive referent is a contrastive topic. To achieve this, it is fronted to the topic slot and takes a pre-verbal pronoun that agrees with its pronominal copy in the basic clause structure. The pre-clausal topic oblique functions pragmatically to contrast any oblique arguments that are potentially selected. In (15), for example, the child is the one that John selects to make a canoe for rather than other children.

- (15) *Ariang*            *wampai*            *Jon*    *cong*            *wa*    *nei*    *vei*  
 ariang            wang-pa-i            Jon    ti-ong            wa    ne-i    ve=i  
 1PL.INC            there.2-DIST-SG John    3SG-make            canoe    PRX-SG for=3SG  
 'It was for the child John made a canoe.'

In (16), the NP, *Wihyawari vaw hia*, indicates that the Wihyawari clan, in contrast to other clans, was the first one to live in Woori Bay. The pronoun *hia* '3PL' is associative plural to the NP *Wihyawari vaw* and also agrees with the subject marker on the verb and this is to indicate that the grammatical role of the contrastive topic is the subject.

- (16) **Wihyawari** *vaw* **hia** *hena* *na* *o:*  
 Wihyawari *vau* *hia* *he-na* *na* *o*  
 Wihyawari NEU[NSG] 3PL 3PL-live LOC INJ
- nu nei hia hena rawing nei pampong*  
 nu ne-i hia he-na rawing ne-i pampong  
 island PRX-SG 3PL 3PL-live bay PRX-SG first  
 ‘As for Wihyawari clan, they live in this island, they live at this bay first...’  
 [MARGA\_Wihyawari1\_EJEN]

In the Kendi clan story, the free pronoun *hia* ‘3PL’ and *ama* ‘1PL.EXC’ refer to the same referent, which is Kendi. Both are contrastive topics that describe the fact that before they became the Kendi clan in Wooi, they had a different name, which not Kendi yet. In the story, they were known before as Mandowen of Biak when their ancestors were still in Biak, and they were still Mandowen on their journey to Yapen Island, but then they changed their clan’s name to Kendi when they lived in Wooi. Thus, *Kendi* is stressed in this story in order to contrast with the older name which comes later in the story. This is illustrated in (17).

- (17) **Kendi pa** **hia** *o:* *henda* *na* *ma* *vane*  
 Kendi pa *hia* *o* *he-t-ra* *na* *ma* *va-ne*  
 Kendi DIST[NSG] 3PL INJ 3PL-PL-go LOC hither NEU-  
 PRX[NSG]
- mae ama vo Kendi ti ama va vo mane*  
 mae ama vo Kendi ti ama va vo ma-ne  
 but 1PL.EXC FOC Kendi FOC.SG 1PL.EXC NEG FOC 1PL.INC-POSS  
 ‘As for the Kendis, they who came here but we, as we were not Kendis yet...’  
 [MARGA\_Kendi1\_JEN]

A contrastive topic may also be an object. In this case, the object participant is the prominent referent and is expressed by an NP in the pre-verbal pragmatically-defined slot, and a pronominal copy occurs post-verbally. The pronominal copy, the contrastive topic and the given anaphoric referent are the same referent. In (18), the context is that there are several groups of men, and the speaker refers to particular group as contrastive topicalized object whom Agus causes to fall. Thus, they share the same person and number features, as in (18).

- (18) *Hinyuntaray* *vaw* *hia* *Agus* *conahia* *hentawa*  
 hinyontarai vau hia Agus ti-ona=hia he-t-tawa  
 man NEU[NSG] 3PL Agus 3PL-cause=3PL 3PL-PL-fall  
 ‘As for the men, Agus made them fall.’

## 12.5. Focus

In Wooi the two types of focus, i.e. completive focus and contrastive focus, are encoded differently. Completive focus is encoded by an NP and contrastive focus is marked with two resources, i.e. left-dislocation and focus particle both in the focused NP and in the clause.

### 12.5.1. Completive focus

Completive focus provides information which is new to the hearer, but not primarily important or prominent (see Butt and King 1996), meaning that it provides a new information which is expected to be unknown by the hearer. In the beginning of the Wooi clan story, the speaker sets up three referents to which s/he aims to direct the hearer’s attention, i.e. *marga* ‘clan’, *rawing nei* ‘this bay’ and *Wihyawari* ‘Wihyawari clan’. Especially, *marga* ‘clan’ and *rawing nei* ‘this bay’ become focus and *marga* ‘clan’ is also the topic of the discourse, as in (19). *Wihyawari* ‘Wihyawari clan’ in the story is the first mentioned name in the chronological order as the first clan expected to live in Wooi before other clans came and it is a piece of new information that becomes the focus as in (19). Thus, in (20), the *Wihyawari* is repeated to explain about the clan by restating it.

- (19) *ya* *payna* *marga* *veve* *o:* *pampong* *to* *rawing nei* *ma*  
 ya paina marga veve o pampong to rawing ne-i ma  
 yes so clan REL FILL first to bay PRX-SGhither
- mara* *Wihyawar* *vaw* *hia*  
 mara Wihyawari vau hia  
 that Wihyawari NEU[NSG] 3PL  
 ‘Yes, so, the clan that first came to this bay is Wihyawari clan.’ [MARGA\_exp 005-008]


- (20) *Wihyawari vaw hia hena na o: nu nei...*  
 Wihyawari vau hia he-t-na na o nu ne-i  
 Wihyawari NEU[NSG] 3PL 3PL-PL-live LOC FILL place PRX-  
 SG  
 ‘Wihyawari clan live in this place...’ [MARGA\_exp 009-010]

### 12.5.2. Contrastive focus

Contrastive focus in Woi distinguishes the fact that the information given by the speaker is in contrast to another alternative focus referent. Grammatically, contrastive focus can be marked both morpho-syntactically and prosodically. As mentioned, contrastive focus is grammatically marked in Woi by two coding properties, i.e. left-dislocation and focus marking. This will be the focus of the discussion in this section. Contrastive focus is also marked phonologically as a separate prosodic unit. For a brief prosodic description, contrastive focus is encoded by a focal accent in which a focus element is prominently accentuated and has a high pitch and a rising intonation at the end of the element and followed by a pause before the following element in the sentence – topic or basic clause structure. In (21), the context is that there are several men as the possible referents and the speaker describes one particular man, in contrast to others, that the speaker gave the money the day before. To do so, the grammatical construction and the intonational contour as in (21) is used.

- (21) *Muang wampai ti / Agus cong doy vei*  
 muang wang-pa-i ti Agus ti-ong doi ve=i  
 man there.2-DIST-SG FOC.SG Agus 3SG-give money for=3SG
- na ramdempe pa*  
 na ramdempe pa  
 LOC yesterday FOC  
 ‘It is the person that Agus gave the money to yesterday.’

The slash (/) in between the focus element *hinyantaray wampai ti* ‘it is that person’ and the topicalized subject, *Agus*, marks the pause that is the prominent prosodic gap for

signaling the focus element. The intonation contour  (rising) in the focus element shows that the focus element is a specific prosodic unit that is different from the basic clause structure, in which the intonation contour falls down. The topic is flat and falls down again at the end of the clause. However, this prosodic feature is not described in this chapter. This chapter focuses on describing in more detail the contrastive focus that is grammatically marked in Wooi.

Morpho-syntactically, contrastive focus has two features:

- a. It occurs in the pragmatically-marked clause-initial position of the extended clause (see extended clause structure described in (9)).
- b. It occurs with a focus particle both in the focused NP and/or the clause.

There are two types of contrastive focus determined by their syntactic and pragmatic constructions and the focus particle that is used:

- i. *ti* ‘SG.FOC’/*ai* ‘NSG.FOC’ ... *pa* ‘FOC’ construction
- ii. *vo* ‘NOM.FOC’ construction.

Typical contrastive focus that has two features in (a) and (b i) can be simply illustrated as in (22).

(22) *Ariangkatung wampai ti Jon riani pa*  
 ariang katung wang-pa-i ti Jon ti-rora=i pa  
 child small there.2-DIST-SG FOC.SG John 3SG-hit=3SG FOC  
 ‘It is the small child that John hit.’

In (22), the context is that the speaker tries to describe the particular small children that John hit, among the other children standing. Thus, the focused object NP is located in the clause-initial position, which is the pragmatic slot for a contrastive focus. The focused NP, indicating argument focus, is then marked by the focus particle *ti* ‘FOC.SG’ and the whole clause (we can call sentence focus) is marked by another focus particle *pa* ‘FOC’ that indicates that the whole clause/sentence is pragmatically under a focus construction (cf. Lambrecht. 2000:

617). In Woori, it also an indication of sentence focus in which a pronominal copy replaces the NP being focused in the basic clause structure.

In Woori, contrastive focus in (22) is the typical one. However, there is another contrastive focus construction that is grammatical marked as in (b. ii).

(23) *Hiuntaray wampa vo pandita tihiana*  
 hinyontarai wang-pa vo pandita ti-hia-na  
 person there.2-DIST[NSG] FOC pastor COP-3PL-3  
 ‘Those are people who are pastors.’

For simplicity, the former in (b. i) is called type 1 and the latter in (b. ii) is called type 2.

- c. Semantically, contrastive focus type 1 can also mark temporal NPs and distinguish temporal referents with the different grammatical marking. The singular focus particle is used to indicate today and future time reference, while the non-singular focus particle is used to indicate past time reference.

To briefly highlight the forms and functions of two kinds of focus constructions,

Table 12.2 provides the formal properties of both type 1 and type 2 contrastive focus in Woori.

Table 12.2 Types of contrastive focus and their grammatical encoding particles in Woori.

TYPES OF CONTRASTIVE FOCUS IN WOORI				
	SUBJ	FOC. MKR	PRED	FOC
Type 1	NP	<i>ti</i> ‘SG.FOC’	Motion/action verbs	<i>pa</i> ‘FOC’
		<i>ai</i> ‘NSG.FOC (non-singular non-human subject)		
		<i>hia</i> ‘3PL.FOC’ (non-singular human subject)		
Type 2	NP	<i>vo</i> ‘NOM.FOC’	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Nominal</li> <li>- Possessive</li> <li>- Locative</li> <li>- Derived-verb</li> <li>- Adjective and adjectival verb</li> <li>- comparative</li> </ul>	

(i) Type 1 contrastive focus

The verbal contrastive focus occurs in a motion/action verbal clause. It never occurs in a non-verbal clause. In terms of its structure, it is compositional with discontinuous marking of Focus as in (24).

(24) [[[[NP]*ti/ai* FOC] (NP<sub>TOP</sub>) PRED]*pa* FOC]

The focus markers *ti* ‘SG.FOC’ or *ai* ‘NSG.FOC’ occur at the end of the focused NP encoding the number of the referent, while the marker *pa* ‘FOC’ is placed clause-finally marking the whole clause is overall part of focus construction. The NP focus particle *ti* ‘SG.FOC’ or *ai* ‘FOC.NSG’ and the focus particle *pa* ‘FOC’ are restricted to contrastive focus and cannot occur in other non-contrastive focus constructions. They always co-occur. Either one cannot be deleted from the focus sentence. To do so is ungrammatical in Woi. In (25) and (26), different sentences show the difference between the two focus particles used to mark singular vs. non-singular NPs. Both contexts show that the contrastive focused object, *Eni wampai ti* and *Asurang toru ai*, are among different possible choices the speaker can refer to, but the speaker specifies these two particular focused referents.

(25) *Eni wampai ti kio ne doy*  
 Eni wang-pa-i ti ti-ko ne doi  
 Eni there.2-DIST-SG FOC.SG 3SG-bring POSS[1SG.PSR] money

*vaw pa*  
 vau pa  
 NEU[NSG] FOC  
 ‘It is that Eni (not this Eni) who brought my money.’

(26) *Asurang toru ai Agus congchia ve ya pa*  
 Asurang toru ai Agus ti-ong=hia ve ya pa  
 pig two FOC.NSG Agus 3SG-give=3PL for 1SG FOC  
 ‘Those are two pigs that Agus gave to me.’

The focus particle following the NP agrees in number – singular versus non-singular with the referent of the NP. The particle *ti* is singular and the particle *ai* non-singular number. In (25), *ti* ‘SG.FOC’ agrees with the number marking encoded in the

demonstrative *wampai* ‘that’ that modifies the proper singular noun *Eni*. In (26), *ai* ‘NSG.FOC’ agrees with the numeral modifier *toru* ‘two’ in the NP *asurang toru* ‘two pigs’.

NPs that are focused can be arguments and/or adjuncts that undergo left-dislocation. In (25) and (26), subject and object arguments are focused, respectively. The left-dislocated NPs require a pronominal copy in the basic clause. In (25), the focused NP agrees with the prefixed-subject marker *ti-* ‘3SG’ that attaches to the verb *ko* ‘bring’; whereas in (26), the focused NP agrees with the object clitic =*hia* ‘3PL’ that attaches to the verb *ong* ‘give’. The same pronominal copy strategy is applied to the oblique argument as shown in (21) above.

Temporal and locative adjuncts can be marked for contrastive focus as well, as in (27) and (28). In this case, the speaker tries to contrast a specific time reference and a specific location among other possible time references and locations so that the hearer can understand the context in which the fact happened. In this case, it is only left-dislocation that is used, but not a pronominal copy.

(27) *Ramdempe ai Agus mantaung kiapa aeng*  
 ramdempe ai Agus mantaung ti-kapa ae-ng  
 yesterday FOC.NSG Agus only 3SG-kick leg-3SG

*vati pa*  
 va-ti pa  
 NEU-SG FOC

‘It was yesterday that Agus himself kicked his leg.’

(28) *Meja ninei ti yong buku vata na*  
 meja ning-ne-i ti y-ong buku vata na  
 table here-PRX-SG SG.FOC 1SG-put book lay.down.LOC LOC

*wampa pa*  
 wang-pa pa  
 there.2- DIST[NSG] FOC

‘This is the table I put the book over there on.’

In particular, the non-singular focus particle *ai* ‘NSG.FOC’ is only used for non-human referents. When the contrastive focus referent is non-singular and human, such as



*muang* ‘man’, *vaving* ‘woman’, *Agus* or *John*, a free pronoun is used to mark a human non-singular focused referent and the focus particle *pa* ‘FOC’ indicates that this is a focus construction that is different from the topic construction shown in (16). The non-singular human focus referent is illustrated in (29) and (30). In (29), the speaker points out particular actors that did the action of cutting a tree as the focused referent in contrast to other possible actors so that the hearer can have a knowledge who actually did the action. In (30), the speaker refers to *Agus* as the person that the speaker and associates asked to bring the book, not other persons that are possibly salient in the context of speaking.

(29) *Muang wampa hia (\*ai) hendobang ay nine pa*  
 Muang wang-pa hia he-t-robang ai ning-ne pa  
 Man there.2-DIST[NSG] 3PL 3PL-PL-cut tree here-PRX[NSG] FOC  
 ‘Those are men that cut these trees.’

(30) *Agus hia (\*ai) tata tatatuvahia hengko buku*  
 Agus hia tata ta-t-tatuvahia he-t-ko buku  
 Agus 3PL 1PL.INC 1PL.INC-PL-ask=3PL 3PL-PL-bring book  
  
*kong Jimi pa*  
 kong Jimi pa  
 from Jimi FOC  
 ‘It was Agus and associates that we asked to bring the book from Jimi.’

Type 1 contrastive focus also indicates the different temporal and locative referents. The contrast between singular versus non-singular also indicates the contrast between today-future time reference versus past time reference, as well as proximate versus distal locative reference, respectively.

In terms of temporal reference, the singular particle *ti* ‘SG.FOC’ is used to indicate a specific time reference (tomorrow, next week) which is marked with this particle, as in (31), (32) and (33).

(31) *Ha ninei ti henda to Harui pa*  
 ha ning-ne-i ti he-t-ra to Harui pa  
 day here-PRX-SG FOC.SG 3PL-PL-go to Serui FOC  
 ‘It is today that they are going to Serui.’

- (32) **Kamyey** *ti* *hetoni* *kiay* *pa*  
 kamiei ti he-t-ong=i kiai pa  
 tomorrow FOC.SG 3PL-PL-make=3SG finish FOC  
 ‘It is tomorrow that they will make it done.’
- (33) **Ari** *verama* *nei* *ti* *mambavu* *pa*  
 ari ve=ra=ma ne-i ti ma-t-vavu pa  
 week REL-go-hither PRX-SG FOC.SG 1PL.EXC-PL-return FOC  
 ‘It will be next week that we will return home.’

It is ungrammatical to mark today-future time reference using the non-singular marker *ai* ‘NSG.FOC’, as in (34). Likewise, having past time reference using the singular marker *ti* ‘SG’FOC’ is not grammatically correct.

- (34) \***Ha** *ninei* *ai* *tato* *tanda*  
 ha ning-ne-i ai ta-t-o ta-t-ra  
 day here-PRX-SG FOC.SG 1PL.INC-PL-want 1PL.INC-go
- to* *Biaki* *pa*  
 to Biak FOC  
 ‘It is today that we want to go to Biak’

The non-singular counterpart *ai* ‘NSG.FOC’ is used to indicate the past time reference, such as last night, yesterday, two days ago, last week, or any other time in the past. This is illustrated by (35), (36) and (37).

- (35) **Ramdempe** *ai* *apui* *hengkahniow*  
 ramdempe ai apui he-t-kahniow  
 yesterday FOC.NSG [1SG]grandfather 3PL-PL-angry
- ve* *ama* *pa*  
 ve ama pa  
 for 1PL.EXC FOC  
 ‘It was yesterday that my grandfather and associates were angry at us.’
- (36) **Hampompe** *ai* *ra* *to* *Harui* *pa*  
 hampompe ai ra to Harui pa  
 in.the.past FOC.NSG [1SG]go to Serui FOC  
 ‘It was in the past that I went to Serui.’
- (37) **Racune** *ai* *Agus* *mantaung* *kiapa* *aeng*  
 racune ai Agus mantaung ti-kapa ae-ng  
 last.night FOC.NSG Agus only 3SG-kick leg-3SG
- vati* *pa*  
 va-i pa  
 NEU-SG FOC  
 ‘It was last night that Agus himself kicked his own leg’

In the context where the speaker tries to point out a definite locative reference from among other possible locative references, the use of singular contrastive focus particle *ti* ‘SG.FOC’ refers to proximate location and the non-singular particle *ai* ‘NSG.FOC’ refers to distal location, as exemplified in (38) and (39). In (38), the speaker is in the Wihyawari clan village, which is about 100 metres away from Haihorey village, and talks about his uncle who lives in Haihorey. Thus, *ti* ‘SG.FOC’ is used since the village is reachable in minutes. In this proximate distance, using the marker *ai* ‘NSG.FOC’ to point the closer location indicated in (39) is not grammatical in Wooi.

(38) *Na haihorey ti amai hena na pa*  
 na haihorei ti amai he-t-na na pa  
 LOC haihorey SG.FOC[1SG]uncle 3PL-PL-live LOC FOC  
 ‘It is in Haihorey that my uncle and his family live.’

(39) \**Na haihorey ai amai hena na pa*  
 na haihorei ai amai he-t-na na pa  
 LOC haihorey NSG.FOC [1SG]uncle 3PL-PL-live LOC FOC  
 ‘It is in Haihorey that my uncle and his family live.’

In (40), the speaker is standing and talking at the harbour, which is far to the south of Haihorey village. In order to go to the village, people have to either take a canoe for about 30 minutes or walk for about 1 hour (see map 13.4 in §13.3). Thus, the speaker uses the non-singular contrastive focus particle *ai* ‘FOC.NSG’. Using the singular particle *ti* ‘SG.FOC’ is ungrammatical in Wooi, as in (41).

(40) *Na haihorey ai amai hena na pa*  
 na haihorei ai amai he-t-na na pa  
 LOC haihorey NSG.FOC [1SG]uncle 3PL-PL-live LOC FOC  
 ‘It is in Haihorey that my uncle and his family live there.’

(41) \**Na haihorey ti amai hena na pa*  
 na haihorei ti amai he-t-na na pa  
 LOC haihorey SG.FOC[1SG]uncle 3PL-PL-live LOC FOC  
 ‘It is in Haihorey that my uncle and his family live there.’

To indicate an indefinite/general locative referent, the non-singular marker *ai* ‘NSG.FOC’ is used, as in (42) and (43). The non-singular particle contributes to the meaning of indefiniteness, and can be combined with either the distal or proximate

demonstrative pronouns, *wampai* ‘there-DIST-SG’ or *ninei* ‘here-PRX-SG’. The demonstrative pronouns may refer to an indefinite location as well.

- (42) *Na wampai ai rahi pa*  
 na wang-pa-i ai rora=i pa  
 LOC there.2-DIST-SG FOC.NSG [1SG]hit-3SG FOC  
 ‘It is somewhere around there that I hit him.’

- (43) *Na ninei ai mato mandama*  
 na ning-ne-i ai ma-t-o ma-t-ra=ma  
 LOC here-PRX-SG FOC.NSG 1PL.EXC-PL-want 1PL.EXC-PL-go=hither

- mamahoy na nine pa*  
 ma-t-mahoy na ning-ne pa  
 1PL.EXC-PL-sit LOC here-PRX[NSG] FOC  
 ‘It is somewhere around here that we want to come and sit down.’

The focus construction with particle *ti* ‘FOC.SG’ also contributes to the meaning of a non-singular entity as a single entity when it occurs within a reflexive construction. When the focused contrastive subject is a plural that co-references to the plural reflexive predicate, the singular focus particle *ti* ‘FOC.SG’ is used. Semantically, the reflexive meaning of ‘selfness’ contributes to the use of the singular focus particle, as shown in (44) and (45). In this context the speaker refers the individuals in the canoe as a group, rather than to each individual member. The reflexive expression encodes the plural form represented in the pronoun *hia* ‘3PL’ as a single collective entity, rather than a plural entity.

- (44) *Hia ti hemehari hembo to Asua pa*  
 hia ti he-t-mehari he-t-vo to Asua pa  
 3PL FOC.SG 3PL-PL-REFL 3PL-paddle.canoe to Ansus FOC  
 ‘It is they themselves (as a group) who paddled the canoe to Ansus.’

- (45) *Mantaung hia ti hengkahniow heneta vemoma*  
 mantaung hia ti he-t-kahiou he-neta ve=moma  
 only 3PL FOC.SG 3PL-PL-angry 3PL-sibling REL=small

- pai pa*  
 pa-i pa  
 DIST-SG FOC  
 ‘It was only them (as a group) who were angry with their small sibling.’

When the particle *ti* ‘FOC.SG’ is not present in the construction, the contrastive focus NP is interpreted as plural entity as in (46). In contrast to (44) and (45), the speaker in

(46) describes the context in which each individual contributes to the action of paddling a canoe to Ansus, a village couple miles to the east of Woi.

(46) *Hia hemehari hembo to Asua pa*  
 hia he-t-mehari he-t-vo to Asua pa  
 3PL 3PL-PL-REFL 3PL-PL-paddle to Ansus FOC  
 ‘It is they themselves (every individual in the canoe) who paddled the canoe to Ansus.’

The examples in (44), (45) and (46) indicate that the use of the particle *ti* ‘FOC.SG’ is restricted to this context. Thus, it is ungrammatical for the non-singular focus particle *ai* ‘FOC.NSG’ to be used, as in (47).

(47) \**Hia ai hemehari hembo to Asua pa*  
 hia ai he-mahari he-t-vo to Asua pa  
 3PL FOC.NSG 3PL-REFL 3PL-PL-paddle.canoe to Ansus FOC  
 ‘It is they themselves who paddled the canoe to Ansus.’

(ii) Type 2 contrastive focus

Type 2 contrastive focus is marked by the focus particle *vo* ‘NOM.FOC’. It is used to mark as focus subject arguments of different kinds of clauses such as nominal, possessive, and also verbal clauses such as adjectival verb clauses, and derived-verb clauses (see §3.2.2). Unlike type 1 contrastive focus in (i), this focus particle does not indicate number.

**Nominal predicates**

The focus particle *vo* is used to mark a focused subject in copular nominal predicates. It is used to contrast the fact that the focused subject is different from the presupposed information. The general nominal predicate in (48) and the focused counterpart in (49) show the difference.

(48) *Frida kuru tina*  
 Frida kuru ti-i-na  
 Frida teacher COP-3SG-3  
 ‘Frida is a teacher.’

- (49) *Frida vo kuru tina*  
 Frida vo kuru ti-i-na  
 Frida FOC.NOM teacher COP-3SG-3  
 ‘It is Frida who is a teacher.’

In the context in (49), *vo* ‘NOM.FOC’ indicates the fact that Frida is the one who is a teacher, rather than someone else. When Frida is already activated in the discourse, and it is Frida’s role as a teacher that is under question, then (50) can be used.

- (50) *Frida kuru tina ne*  
 Frida kuru ti-i-na e  
 Frida teacher COP-3SG-3 Q  
 ‘Is Frida a teacher?’

If a positive answer is expected to be already known by other people, then the answer will be in the generic copular nominal predicate as in (48), or just with *yo* ‘yes’ or *pivay* ‘no’. If the answer is intended to contrast the fact that the subject referent, Frida, is the person who is by profession a teacher and not someone else, the answer is in the focus construction as in (51).

- (51) *Yo, Frida vo kuru tina*  
 Yo, Frida vo kuru ti-i-na  
 Yes, Frida FOC.NOM kuru COP-3SG-3  
 ‘Yes, it is Frida that is a teacher.’

The focus particle *vo* ‘NOM.FOC’ can be used to mark the focused demonstrative subject of a nominal predicate. In the story of *Perahu painting* (canoe painting), the speaker lists specific materials he uses to paint the canoe in contrast to other materials. Thus, the meaning is not really contrastive but specificity, as in (52).

- (52) *Ninei vo a: o: homangduvay pina kainteri*  
 ning-ne-i vo a o homangduvai pi=ti-i-na interi  
 Here-PRX-SG FOC.NOM FILL FILL k.o.wood DEI=COP-3SG-3 then
- nuing imbecampur yo: a: harow rawa nei*  
 burn im-ve-campur yo a harow rawa ne-i  
 [1SG]burn [1SG]APPL-VBLZ-mix FILL FILL mangrove skin PRX-SG
- mainteri yong ma o: isima wa nei isima*  
 mainteri y-ong mara o in-hima wa ne-i in-hima  
 then 1SG-use then FILL APPL-paint canoe PRX-SG APPL-paint
- wa peyno nine mainteri naninei vo*  
 wa peino ning-ne mainteri na-ning-ne-i vo  
 canoe DEI here-PRX[NSG] then LOC-here-PRX-SG FOC.NOM

<i>Harow</i>	<i>rawa</i>	<i>tina</i>	(...) <i>ne</i>	<i>emperang</i>	<i>tititar</i>
Harow	rawa	ti-i-na	ne	e-t-perang	tititar=i
Mangrove	skin	COP-3SG-3	PRX[NSG]	3PL.INDEF-PL-cut	pill=3SG

<i>ma</i>	<i>kainteri</i>	<i>mandorani</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>matoni</i>
mara	interi	ma-t-rorang=i	e	interi	ma-t-ong=i
and	then	1PL.EXC-PL-soak=3SG	FILL then	1PL.EXC-PL-use=3SG	

<i>maisima</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>ne</i>
ma-in-hima	wa	ne
1PL.EXC-APPL-paint	canoe	PRX[NSG]

‘**This one** is a kind of Homanduvay wood (used to make outrigger) then I burn it and I mix it with this mangrove tree skin then I use it to paint this canoe. I paint this canoe then, **this one** is the mangrove skin, the mangrove skin, they cut it off and pill it then we soak it, then we use it to paint these canoes.’

The focus particle *vo* is also used when the focused subject is a headless relative clause and the predicate is just a noun, as in (53). In this context, the focused element is the action described in the relative clause. Thus the relative clause takes focus marker *vo*. Here, it is not grammatical to use the copula. Instead, the noun can be either a single noun or a noun with an inclusory pronominal.

(53) *Ve am pa nine vo Agus*  
ve ang pa ning-ne vo Agus=i  
REL eat rice here-PRX-SG FOC.NOM Agus=3SG  
‘The one who ate rice is Agus.’

An inclusory pronominal is analyzed here as a type of modifier to the head noun that provides number and person features to the head noun. Further description on inclusory pronominals is given in §4.4.2.4.

Two relative clauses can function as the subject of the predicate and the predicate itself. When the relativized subject is focused, it takes the focus particle *vo* ‘NOM.FOC’ because the predicate is also nominal in the form of a relative clause, as in (54).

- (54) *[Ko lia kesana, lia kesana<sup>1</sup>], ve to*  
 ko lia ke=sana lia ke=sana ve to  
 2SG see to=there see to=there REL to
- vavaw hia vo ve to ning tata...*  
 va-vau hia vo ve to ning tata  
 NEU-RED 3PL FOC.NOM REL to here 1PL.INC
- ‘[In Papuan Malay: you see in there, see in there], those that are going there, those that look like us...’ [Kapur\_production]

The focus particle *vo* ‘NOM.FOC’ can function as the subject of the ellipsis clause. This occurs when two nominal predicates is contrasted. The first predicate, which is a complete nominal predicate, states the presupposed information and the ellipsis predicate, in which *vo* is the subject, show the asserted information, as in (55).

- (55) *Yan tina va vo Agus tina*  
 Yan ti-i-na va vo Agus ti-i-na  
 Yan COP-3SG-3 NEG FOC.NOM Agus COP-3SG-3
- ‘It’s not Yan. That one is Agus.’

### Possessive predicate

The possessive predicate is considered a non-verbal predicate so it can take *vo* ‘FOC.NOM’ when the subject of the predicate is focused. In (56), the story describes how the speaker explains gardens that belong to different people. The speaker contrasts the plants and the garden that belong to different people. In Wooi, every household has their own garden that is close to each other and often there is no fence to separate the gardens. However, people can identify the gardens by the plants they grow and some other natural boundary like certain kinds of trees, for example bamboos or betel nut trees. Thus, the speaker then uses contrastive focus with *vo* to distinguish the plants and the owners as in (56).

- (56) *Havuy nine andang ninei mara ivo a:*  
 havuy ni-ne andang ning-ne-i mara vo a:  
 areca.nut here-PRX[NSG] mango here-PRX-SG that FOC.NOM FILL
- ‘these are the areca nut (trees) and this is the mango (tree) that, uh...’

<sup>1</sup> The speaker uses Papuan Malay in the first part of the utterance marked by the brackets [...] to direct the people to see the video and then he made a comparison between the people captured in the video and themselves.



<i>bapa</i>	<i>nye</i>	<i>andang</i>	<i>amai</i>	<i>o:</i>	<i>andang ve</i>
bapak	ti-ne	andang	amai	o:	andang ve
father	3SG-POSS	mango	[1SG]brother.in.law	FILL	mango REL

‘(my) father’s mango (tree), (my) brother in law’s the mango tree that’

<i>canang</i>	<i>patina</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>ninei</i>	<i>vo</i>	<i>Lawari hia</i>
ti-tanang	pi-ti-i-na	mae	ning-ne-i	vo	Lawari hia
3SG-plant	DEI-COP-3SG-3	but	here-PRX-SG	FOC.NOM	Lawari 3PL

‘he planted (it) but this is the one belongs to the Lawaris’

<i>yabuay</i>	<i>o:</i>	<i>Frans</i>	<i>Rawar hia</i>	<i>hene</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>ning</i>
yabuay	o:	Frans	Lawari hia	he-ne	na	ning
[1SG]father.brother	FILL	Frans	Lawari 3PL	3PL-POSS	LOC	here

‘my uncle Frans Lawari, they own this (place) here...’[Gardening1\_JEV\_048-055]

### Locative predicate

In two clauses that have locative predicates, *vo* ‘NOM.FOC’ is used to mark two contrastive subjects in the two clauses. The second clause is the clause in which the locative predicate is elided. Both clauses are contrasted in which the speaker first focuses his description on the particular tree (and not others) being found in Wooi and then contrasting Wooi with Ansus, where the tree is not found, as in (57).

(57) *Ay wampai vo nya na Wooi.Rawing*  
 ai wang-pa-i vo ti-na na Wooi.Rawing  
 tree there.2-DIST-SG FOC.NOM 3SG-located LOC Wooi.Bay

<i>mantaung</i>	<i>Asua</i>	<i>vo</i>	<i>pivay</i>
mantaung	Asua	vo	pivai
only	Ansus	FOC.NOM	NOT

‘This is the tree that is only in Wooi. Not in Ansus.’

In the context like in (57), the deletion of the focus particle *vo* ‘FOC.NOM’ is not acceptable (#) but is possible. However, it will sound odd to speakers without the right context, as in (58).

(58) #*Ay wampai nya na Wooi Rawing mantaung*  
 Ay wang-pa-i ti-na na Wooi.Rawing mantaung  
 Tree there.2-DIST-SG 3SG-live LOC Wooi Bay only

<i>mae</i>	<i>Asua</i>	<i>pivay</i>
mae	Asua	pivay
but	Asua	not

‘That tree only exists in Wooi but does not exist in Ansus.’

In (58), there is no asserted information about the subject or location that shows prominent contrastive reference in the sentence. It just indicates the fact that the particular tree is just found in Wooi, but not in Ansus. The sentence in (58) cannot be used to answer the question such as in (59). It is only the construction in (57) that is possible to answer this question.

- (59) *Ay wampai nya na Wooi Rawing mantaung ne*  
*Ai wang-pa-i ti-na na Wooi.Rawing mantaung e*  
 Tree there.2-DIST-SG 3SG-live LOC Wooi Bay only Q  
 ‘Does that tree only exist in Wooi?’

### Derived-verb predicates

The verbalized predicate with *ve-* ‘VBLZ’ may also take the contrastive focus construction with *vo* ‘NOM.FOC.’ The focused subject of this predicate must take the particle *vo* ‘NOM.FOC’, as in (60). Unlike other verbs such as *hit, see, walk, cry* that take type 1 focus construction, the particle *vo* ‘FOC’ is used here because of the verb is derived from noun, for instance, in (60), the stem *kuru* ‘teacher’ is the derived stem.

- (60) *Frida hia vo hembekuru*  
 Frida hia vo he-t-ve-kuru  
 Frida 3PL FOC.NOM 3PL-PL-VBLZ-teacher  
 ‘It is Frida and associates that became the teachers.’

Using the focus particle of the verbal predicate is not grammatical although in Chapter 3 the derived verb is considered a verbal predicate based on the morphological feature, i.e. subject marking.

- (61) *\*Frida ti vekuru pa*  
 Frida ti ve-kuru pa  
 Frida SG.FOC [3SG]VBLZ-teacher FOC  
 ‘It is Frida who becomes a teacher.’

### Adjectives and adjectival verb predicates

Adjectival verbs and adjectives functioning as predicates also take the contrastive focus particle *vo* ‘FOC’ as their subject. The subjects of both predicates must take the contrastive focus particle *vo* when they are focused. In (62), the subject of

the adjectival verb is focused and in (63), the subject of the adjective predicate is focused.

(62) *Jon vo teriay*  
 Jon vo ti-tariai  
 John FOC.NOM 3SG-tall  
 'It is John who is tall.'

(63) *Rindi vo parimang raro ne keto mangkakopi*  
 rindi vo parimang raro ne keto mangkakopi  
 outside FOC.NOM cold inside PRX[NSG] just warm  
 'It is cold outside. Inside here (the house) is just warm'

Unlike other verbs taking the type 1 contrastive focus construction, the adjectival verbs must take the *vo* particle on their subject as they have two grammatical functions, i.e. as a verb and as a modifier in an NP. The double function of adjectival verbs has been further discussed in §3.2.2.2 and §7.3. The second function as the modifier of an NP affects the use of the focus particle *vo* in this context, rather than the type 1 focus particle. When taking the type 1 focus particle, the sentences are not grammatical in Wooi, as shown in (64).

(64) *\*Jon ti teriay pa*  
 Jon ti ti-tariai pa  
 John FOC.SG 3SG-tall FOC  
 'It is John who is tall.'

### Comparative predicates

A comparative construction always implies some contrast as part of the comparison. Thus, there are two possible constructions. The first one only aims to compare the subject and the standard element and the second is aimed to contrast the subject and the standard element. When it is just a comparison sentence, the sentence is just a declarative sentence to compare A to B, as in (65).

(65) *Jen piung hieha Ana kong Jois haru*  
 Jen ti-pung hieha Ana kong Jois haru  
 Jean 3SG-fat COMPR Ana COM Jois 3DU  
 'Jean is fatter than Ana and Jois.'

In the context when a comparative construction aims to state that the contrastive entity (subject) is specific/focused in comparison to another entity (standard), the specific entity (subject) must be focused. In (66), the speaker tries to contrast the speaker's father and the third participant's father. The subject-standard in the comparative relation requires the subject *tamai* 'my father' to take the contrastive focus particle *vo* 'FOC.NOM' in order to contrast it with the standard *tamani* 'his/her father'.

(66) *Tamai*                      *vo*                      *teriai hieha*                      *tamani*  
 tama-i                      vo                      ti-tariai hieha                      tama-n-i  
 [1SG.PSR]father-SG.PSS FOC.NOM                      3SG-tall COMPR                      father-3SG.PSR-SG.PSS  
 'It is my father (not someone else) that is taller than his/her father.'

Note that the superlative construction must use the verbal predicate focus. The detail of comparison constructions is described in §7.4.5.

## 12.6. Focus constructions and interrogatives

There is agreement among linguists that interrogative sentences, especially interrogative Wh-questions, are focused in nature. This is based on common characteristics of interrogative sentences and focus constructions in terms of prosodic, semantic and morpho-syntactic similarities (see Surányi 2006, Mycock 2010, Mercado 2004). Semantically, both interrogative words and focus are new and prominent information.

In Woi, wh-question words occur in two types of interrogative constructions. One is simple Wh-questions and the other is focus Wh-questions. The structure of simple Wh-questions has been discussed in §7.7.3. One example is given below in (67), showing an in-situ question word denoting the subject referent.

(67) *Matei*                      *tetuvari*                      *ne*  
 mate-i                      ti-tatuvai                      e  
 who-SG                      3SG-order=3SG Q  
 'Who ordered him?'

Here, the discussion elaborates the focus Wh-questions and their relations to the expected answers.

In common, both kinds of Wh-questions can result in an answer that is in a focus construction. The simple question and the focused questions reflect two different presumptions about the knowledge of the person who asks the question. The simple question in (68a) is asked by someone who does not know who made the canoe and is simply asking for the information on this. In contrast, the question in (69a) is asked by the speaker who wants to clarify who made the canoe because he/she thinks that he/she may not have the correct information on this. The answers can optionally occur in two forms: short as in b and in full as in c. Whether in short answer or full answer, the person who answers the question needs to supply new information relating to the question being asked, as it is expected that both types of questions need specific/new information. However, the short answer only supplies the generic information of the focused answer. Whereas, the complete answer as in (c) requires a focus marker in order to specify or contrast the focused answer to distinguish it from other possible answers. Thus, the answers for (68a) and (69a) have to be in the focus construction (whether they are marked or not) as in each of the (b) and (c) responses.

(68) a. *Matei cong wa vanei na ramdempe ne*  
 mate-i ti-ong wa va-ne-i na ramdempe e  
 who-SG 3SG-make canoe NEU-PRX-SG LOC yesterday Q  
 ‘Who made the canoe yesterday?’

b. *Joni.*  
 Jon=i  
 John=3SG  
 ‘John.’

c. *Jon ti cong wa vanei*  
 Jon ti ti-ong wa va-ne-i  
 John SG.FOC 3SG-make canoe NEU-PRX-SG

*na ramdempe pa*  
 na ramdempe pa  
 LOC yesterday FOC  
 ‘It was John who made the canoe yesterday.’

- (69) a. *Matei ti cong wa vanei na*  
 mate-i ti ti-ong wa va-ne-i na  
 who-SG SG.FOC 3SG-make canoe NEU-PRX-SG LOC  
*ramdempe ne*  
 ramdempe ne  
 yesterday Q  
 ‘Who was it that made the canoe yesterday?’
- b. *Joni.*  
 Jon=i  
 John=3SG  
 ‘John’
- c. *Jon ti cong wa vanei na ramdempe*  
 Jon ti ti-ong wa va-ne-i na ramdempe  
 John SG.FOC 3SG-make canoe NEU-PRX-SG LOC yesterday  
*pa*  
 pa  
 FOC  
 ‘It is John who made the canoe yesterday.’

Another possible answer in response to (69a) is (70). It provides new information to the question in (69a), but it does not mark the new information as focused. This is just a generic answer, with no intention to provide a specific focused answer.

- (70) *Jon cong wa vanei na ramdempe*  
 Jon ti-ong wa va-ne-i na ramdempe  
 John 3SG-make canoe NEU-PRX-SG LOC yesterday  
 ‘John made the canoe yesterday.’

The questions in (68a) and (69a) will also produce different pragmatically-structured answers. It is expected that the question in (71a) will be answered with a specific answer. The speaker knows that the coconut tree was cut down and is simply asking who the cutter was. In this case, the speaker presumes that the listener knows the answer to the question. The focus particle in this questions and answer function as contrastive focus in which it is limited the answer to a particular/contrastive answer, as opposed to any possible answer.

- (71) a. *Mate hia hendobang angkati wampai pa*  
 mate hia he-t-robang angkati wang-pa-i pa  
 who[NSG] 3PL 3PL-PL-cut coconut.tree there.2-DIST-SG FOC  
 ‘Who are they that cut down that coconut tree?’

- b. *Sawaki hia hendobang angkati wampai pa*  
 Sawaki hia he-t-robang angkati wang-pa-i pa  
 Sawaki 3PL 3PL-PL-cut coconut.tree there.2-DIST-SG FOC  
 ‘It was Sawaki and his associates who cut down that coconut tree.’

Note that *mate hia* is a focus construction especially for a non-singular human referent.

Thus, the expected answer is in the same construction.

In (72), the speaker is still expecting an answer and a specific answer, but it is simply a simple gap focus question and the completive focus answer, but not indicating contrastive focus.

- (72) a. *Mate hendobang angkati nei ne*  
 mate he-robang angkati ne-i e  
 who[NSG] 3PL-cut coconut.tree PRX-SG Q  
 ‘Who cut this coconut tree?’

- b. *Hiuntaray wampa hendobang angkati nei*  
 hinyontarai wang-pa he-t-robang angkati ne-i  
 person there-DIST[NSG] 3PL-PL-cut coconut.tree PRX-SG  
 ‘Those people cut this coconut tree.’

The statement in (c), however, is an answer to the question in (72a) that takes contrastive focus. This answer is required when the person who answers the question would like to provide a specific answer, in this case a specific person who cut the coconut tree.

- c. *Hiuntaray wampa hia hendobang angkati*  
 hinyontarai wang-pa hia he-t-robang angkati  
 person there.2-DIST[NSG] 3PL 3PL-PL-cut coconut
- nei pa*  
 ne-i pa  
 PRX-SG FOC  
 ‘Those are people who cut this coconut tree.’

The speaker can limit his/her focus to particular people when the speaker knows what is happening and he/she wants to clarify it by asking question directly with contrastive focus, as in (73a). The expected answer from the listener is also with contrastive focus (73b).

- (73) a. **Mate**            **hia**    **henda**            **wang**  
 mate                hia    he-t-ra            wang  
 who[SG]            3PL    3PL-PL-go        there.2  
 ‘Who are they that are going there?’
- b. **Tamai**            **hia**    **henda**            **wang pa**  
 tamai                hia    he-t-ra            wang pa  
 [1SG]father        3PL    3PL-PL-go        there.2 FOC  
 ‘They are my father and associates that are going there.’

If a speaker requests information, then the presupposition is that he/she does not know this information. However, by asking a question as in (74a) the speaker knows that the hearer made something yesterday and wants to ask (in contrastive focus) what it was that was made. The expected answer is definitely in contrastive focus as well, as in (74b).

- (74) a. **Pitoi**            **ti**                    **ramdempe**    **buoni**            **ne**  
 pitoi-i                ti                      ramdempe        bu-ong=i        e  
 what-SG              FOC.SG              yesterday        2SG-make=3SG Q  
 ‘What was it that you made yesterday?’
- b. **Wa**    **vanei**            **ti**                    **ramdempe**    **yoni**            **pa**  
 wa    va-ne-i            ti                      ramdempe        y-ong=i        pa  
 canoe    NEU-PRX-SG    FOC.SG              yesterday        1SG-make=3SG FOC  
 ‘It is this canoe that I made yesterday [specific canoe being pointed; not any canoe nearby]’

In response to a question with contrastive focus, another possible answer is constructed with the contrastive particle *ti* ‘FOC.SG’ with the particle *yang* ‘REAS’. When the answer is expected to give a reason why something happens, the particle *yang* ‘REAS’ is used in the clause-final position that pragmatically links the fact being asked and the reason why the question is asked (the speaker might hear some noise and expect that something has fallen). The answer in (75b) is just a simple gap answer, but the answer in (c) is the contrastive focus answer with *yang* ‘REAS’.

- (75) a. **Pitoi**            **ti**                    **cawa**            **pa**  
 pitoi-i                ti                      ti-tawa            pa  
 what-SG              FOC.SG              3SG-fall            FOC  
 ‘What was it that fell?’
- b. **Beng**  
 ‘Plate’



- c. *Beng ti cawa yang*  
 beng ti ti-tawa yang  
 plate SG-FOC 3SG-fall REAS  
 ‘It is a plate that fell (the reason you hear the noise)’

The answer in (c) uses a different particle clause-finally but it is still considered a focus construction. Pragmatically, this particle provides a linking device to understand the whole context of the presupposed situation marked in the brackets (...) that triggers someone to ask the question in (a).

A contrastive focus can also be used in asking a question when the speaker knows that someone has killed the pig but he/she wants to clarify or specify the person who did that, as in (76a). The expected answer is in the contrastive focus as it is focused to a particular person who killed the pig, as in (76b).

- (76) a. *Hniuntaray matei miung asurang nei*  
 Hinyontarai mate-i ti-mung asurang ne-i  
 Person who-SG 3SG-kill pig PRX-SG  
 ‘Which person killed this pig?’
- b. *Hniuntaray wampai ti miung asurang nei pa*  
 Hinyontarai wang-pa-i ti ti-mung asurang ne-i pa  
 Person there.2-DIST-SG FOC.SG 3SG-kill pig PRX-SG FOC  
 ‘It is that person who killed this pig.’

Asking about a particular day among seven days in a week, the question must be composed in the focus construction as in (77a). The answer also must be specific and definite about the day the person being asked wants to fulfill the act of going, as in (77b).

- (77) a. *Hapittoi ti buo ruam pa*  
 ha=pito=i ti bu-o bu-ra=N pa  
 day=what=SG FOC.SG 2SG-want 2SG-go=LIG FOC  
 ‘Which day you want to go?’
- b. *Kamyey ti yo ram pa*  
 Kamiei ti y-o ra-m pa  
 Tomorrow FOC.SG 1SG-want [1SG]go-LIG FOC  
 ‘It will be tomorrow that I want to go.’

## 12.7. Combining topic and focus constructions

This section describes the various pragmatic constructions in which topic and focus can be structured together in the extended clause. This includes the presence of topic and focus NPs, double focus and topic and double focus in the pragmatic slots.

The two types of contrastive focus can co-occur in two clauses that show a contrastive relation. The clauses can be a nominal clause and a verbal clause. When the nominal clause occurs first, the subject of the nominal clause takes the particle *vo* ‘FOC.NOM’ and then is followed by the verbal clause that takes the type 1 contrastive focus using the particle *ti* or *ai* with the clause-final particle *pa* ‘FOC’. This is illustrated in (78).

(78)	<b><i>Jon</i></b>	<b><i>tehava</i></b>		<b><i>vo</i></b>	<b><i>Agus</i></b>	<b><i>ti</i></b>	<b><i>retaynyena</i></b>	<b><i>pa</i></b>
	Jon	teha=va		vo	Agus	ti	re-tay-ena	pa
	John	NEG.PART=NEG	FOC	Agus	FOC.SG	eye[3SG]-sticky-sleep	FOC	
	‘It is not John, but Agus who is sleepy.’							

In (78), they definitely belong to two separate sentences. Thus, the use of different focus constructions reflects the different predicate types. Note that the focus particles cannot be switched. This is evidence that the two focus markers are associated with the two different predicate types. Semantically, both focused subjects, which are in contrast in the sentences, are prominent. They must be highlighted in the discourse.

When the two sentences in (78) are restructured, i.e. the elided adjective of the non-verbal predicative clause becomes the second sentence and the verbal predicative clause becomes the first sentence, the ellipsis clause does not take the focus marker, as in (79).

(79)	<b><i>Agus</i></b>	<b><i>ti</i></b>	<b><i>retaynyena</i></b>		<b><i>pa</i></b>	<b><i>Jon</i></b>	<b><i>tehava</i></b>	<b><i>(*vo)</i></b>
	Agus	ti	re-tay-ena		pa	Jon	teha=va	vo
	Agus	FOC.SG	eye[3SG]-sticky-sleep	FOC	John	NEG.PART=NEG	NOM.FOC	
	‘It is Agus who is sleepy. John is not.’							

Semantically, the first sentence contains the contrastive focused subject, whereas the subject of the ellipsis clause is not focused. The focused subject cannot occur when the

clause is in the second clause as in (79). Note that when the subject of the ellipsis clause is intended to be focused, the clause must become the first clause as in (78).

In contrast to the examples (78) and (79), the two focus particles can also co-occur in single clause. As shown by asterisk (\*) in (9), the focus slot must take the most left position in the extended clause and the focused NPs can be up to two in the slot. This is known as a double focus structure. The following example in (80) shows two focused NPs filling the focus slot in the extended clause.

- (80) *Buku wampai vo Jon ti coni*  
 buku wang-pa-i vo Jon ti ti-ong=i  
 book there.2-DIST-SG FOC John FOC.SG 3SG-give=3SG
- ve ya pa*  
 ve ya pa  
 for 1SG FOC
- ‘That one is the BOOK that THAT JOHN gave to me.’

Note that the types of contrastive focus must be taken into account in placing the focused NPs in the focus slot regardless of semantic types of NPs, i.e. human, animate or in animate. The first NP must take type 2 contrastive focus and the following NP takes the type 1 contrastive focus. Placing in the reverse order is ungrammatical in Wooi, as in (81).

- (81) \**Buku wampai ti Jon vo coni*  
 buku wang-pa-i ti Jon vo ti-ong=i  
 book there.2-DIST-SG SG.FOC John NOM.FOC 3SG-give=3SG
- ve ya pa*  
 ve ya pa  
 for 1SG FOC
- ‘It is the book that that John gave to me.’

When two human NPs are in the focus slot, grammatical relations are considered to be important. The leftmost position must be the non-subject argument. The marking of the first NP also varies. It can be marked in various ways as in (82), (83) and (84).

(82) *Hiuntaray*    *wampai*                    *hia*    *Jon*    *ti*    *peyay*                    *hia*  
 hinyontaray    wang-pa                    hia    Jon    ti    ti-paya                    hia  
 person            there.2-DIST[NSG]    3PL    John    FOC.SG 3SG-tell                    3PL

*ve*    *ya*    *pa*  
 ve    ya    pa  
 for    1SG    FOC

‘It is the people who THAT JOHN told me about.’

(83) *Hiuntaray*    *wampai*                    (\**ti*)    *Jon*    *ti*                    *peyai*  
 hinyontaray    wang-pa-i                    Jon    ti                    ti-paya=i  
 person            there.2-DIST-SG                    John    FOC.SG                    3SG-tell=3SG

*ve*    *ya*    *pa*  
 ve    ya    pa  
 for    1SG    FOC

‘It is the person who THAT JOHN told me about.’

(84) *Hiuntaray*    *wampai*                    *vo*                    *Jon*    *ti*                    *peyai*  
 hinyontaray    wang-pa-i                    vo                    Jon    ti                    ti-paya=i  
 person            there.2-DIST-SG FOC.NOM                    John    FOC.SG                    3SG-tell=3SG

*ve*    *ya*    *pa*  
 ve    ya    pa  
 for    1SG    FOC

‘It is that person who THAT JOHN told me about.’

In (82), (83) and (84), the first NP in the focus slot is the focused object and the second NP is the focused subject. The focused object does not need to take the focus particle as in (82) and (83) or it can take the focus particle *vo* as in (84). Doubling the same focus marker as in (83) is not allowed in Woi. Thus, the inclusory pronominal *hia* ‘3PL’ in (82) is not the human non-singular focus marker but it is part of the NP.

The combination of focus and topic is also allowed in Woi. In this case, the focused NP fills the focus slot in the leftmost position in the extended clause and is followed by the topicalized NP. In (85), the focused NP is marked by the particle *vo* ‘NOM.FOC’ to the relativized clause functioning as the subject and is followed by a continued topic. The topic then agrees with the subject marker on the verb. The predicate is considered to be a locative predicate, as in (85).

- (85) *Vaving ve tera wampa vo hampompe*  
 vaving ve tera wang-pa vo hampompe  
 woman REL stand there.2-DIST[NSG] FOC.NOM in.the.past
- hia hena havaru manu maneng nei*  
 hia he-na havaru manu ma-ne-ng ne-i  
 3PL 3PL-LOC next.to house 1PL.INC.PSR-POSS-LIG PRX-SG  
 ‘As for the women who are standing there, they were our next door neighbour in the past.’

The extended clause allows two focus NPs and a topicalized NP to be structured together as in (85) and (86).

- (86) *Ariang wampi Jon ti Agus con i vei pa*  
 ariang wang-pa-i Jon ti Agus ti-ong=i ve=i pa  
 child there.2-DIST-SG John FOC.SG Agus 3SG-give=3SG for=3SG FOC  
 ‘It is the child that THAT JOHN, Agus gave the child to.’

- (87) *Ariang wampai vo Jon ti Agus con i*  
 ariang wang-pa-i vo Jon ti Agus ti-ong=i  
 child there.2-DIST-SG FOC.NOM John FOC.SG Agus 3SG-give=3SG
- vei pa*  
 ve=i pa  
 for=3SG FOC  
 ‘It is the child that THAT JOHN, Agus gave the child to.’

Like in (82), (83) and (84), two focus NPs follow the order of grammatical relations in the pragmatic slot as in (85) and (86). The focused object and oblique must come first, followed by the focused subject. The topicalized subject always immediately precedes the predicate. Both focused NPs, the object and the oblique, have pronominal copies replacing their position in the basic clause structure.

# Chapter 13 – Deictics and spatial orientation

## 13.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the deictic system and spatial orientation in Woi. These concepts relate to cognitive knowledge of how the speakers of Woi relate as a ‘mobile species’ (Levinson 2003: 1) to their physical environment. Some basic concepts of deictics and spatial orientation are discussed in §13.2. In this section, the discussion focuses on providing an overview of cognitive and linguistic perceptions of coding deictics and spatial orientation and how people frame their cognitive reference based on the physical environment. In §13.3, the deictic system in Woi is discussed. This highlights the forms and functions of deictics in Woi. In §13.4, three different types of deictics in Woi and their morphological structure are discussed. They are deictic adverbs (§13.4.1), demonstrative modifiers (§13.4.2) and demonstrative pronouns (§13.4.3). In §13.5, four different deictics with morphologically complex combination and their syntactic distributions are discussed. In §13.6, the discussion focuses on the semantic extension of locative deictics spreading to temporal meaning. In §13.7, an overview of spatial orientation in Woi is given. This section mainly focuses on describing the geographical and topographical environment in Woi that influences the ways in which Woi people direct their spatial orientation. In §13.8, the discussion focuses on types of spatial orientation. The discussion is based on the static and kinetic concepts of the spatial domain as introduced by Levinson (1983, 1996, 2003) and Levinson and Wilkins (2006).

### **13.2. The concepts of deictics and spatial orientation.**

Deictics and spatial orientation play significant roles in human language as they represent spatial cognition of humans towards their physical environment. They relate human thinking about the physical world to cognitive language (see Levinson and Wilkins 2006) as a part of pointing out and locating references in the context of utterances (Senft 2004). As for cognitive language, there are linguistic devices that are fully used to direct and navigate speaker-hearer communication in the spatial physical context (Booij et.al 2004, Levinson 2003, Hanks 2009). This field has been under intensive study (Fillmore 1975, Lyons 1977, Levinson 1983, Levinson and Wilkins 2006, and Senft 2004) and is basically a combination of physical geography, psychology, cognitive and linguistic studies to investigate how people direct and navigate their cognitive orientation towards the physical environment. The combination influences the use of rich linguistic devices in describing the human world. As language interacts with spatial orientation (and deictics), they influence each other. Thus, the spatial context of communication can enrich the comprehension of linguistic expression.

Deixis is a Greek word meaning ‘pointing’ or ‘indicating’ and now indicates linguistic devices such as personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, tenses, adpositions and other relevant features that relate utterances to the spatio-temporal context in a given speech event (Lyons 1977a, Levinson 1999: 132). Lyons’ definition goes along with Fillmore’s (1982: 35) definition of deixis:

“Deixis is the name given to uses of items and categories of lexicon and grammar that are controlled by certain details of the interactional situation in which the utterances are produced. These details include especially the identity of the participants in the communicating situation, their locations and orientation of space, whatever on-going indexing acts the participants may be performing, and the time at which the utterance containing the items is produced.”

Deictics is a generic term referring to a speaker's orientation in a spatio-temporal context in a given speech context. They might semantically be broad in context as they might range from locative reference to temporal reference.

Spatial frames of reference are different kinds of coordinate systems in regard to the environment as a whole (the landscape and seascape) in relation to projection of certain objects (Ross 2007: 229, Bugenhagen 2010). Levinson (2003: 20) introduces three frames of reference: Intrinsic, relative and absolute frames of reference. The intrinsic frame of reference is a two-way spatial relation between the location of an object in relation to an intrinsic feature of another object (its front, back, behind, beside, etc.). The relative frame of reference refers to three viewpoints, the speaker-hearer, the position of another object, and the location of the projected object. Thus, the English sentence: *The person sits to the left of the big man*, is the example of the relative frame of reference. The absolute frame of reference describes a two-way reference that invokes fixed bearings in abstract axes such as north, south, east, west, upriver, downriver, uphill, downhill, etc. Frames of reference are discussed in §13.8.2.

### **13.3. Deictic system: Form and Function**

The deictics in Wooi can be analyzed in terms of their morphological, syntactic and semantic features (Sawaki 2012). These features interact with one another. Morphologically, they range from simple morphological words to complex morphological words, which include a combinatory pattern of locative nominal deictics and demonstrative modifiers to form the third category: demonstrative pronouns. Demonstrative modifiers and demonstrative pronouns, in particular, show a number contrast: singular vs. non-singular, in which singular is marked and non-singular is not.

Syntactically, deictics in Wooi belong to three different word classes: locative nominal deictics, demonstrative modifiers and demonstrative pronouns. Their syntactic



functions also vary: the locative nominal deictic functions as a clausal adverbial deictic, demonstrative modifiers only function as modifiers of an NP and demonstrative pronouns may function as an NP modifier, an argument (subject or object) of a predicate and as a predicate of a clause.

Semantically, deictics are categorized in terms of spatial orientation and number. For the former, deictics include horizontal vs. vertical deictics, and distal vs. neutral vs. proximal deictics. The latter has singular vs. non-singular deictics. Further, the deictics undergo semantic extension from spatial reference meaning to temporal reference meaning. The morphological and syntactic distributions of deictics are different from one another, as are their semantic features. An overview of the deictic system and its morpho-syntactic and semantic features is given in Figure 13.1.

DEICTIC SYSTEM				
Types of deictics		(1)	(2)	(3)
Word classes		LOC.NOM.DEI	Demonstrative modifiers	Demonstrative pronouns
Features				
Syntax	Distribution	Clausal unit	Phrasal unit	Phrasal and clausal units
	Function	Locative adjunct	NP modifier	NP modifier, arguments of a predicate (SUBJ and OBJ), predicate
Morphology	Form	Lexical items	DEM.MOD + NUM	LOC.NOM.DEI + DEM.MOD + NUM
Semantic	Number marking	No	Yes Singular vs. Non-singular	Yes Singular vs. Non-singular
	Semantics of number	No	Concrete vs. mass Bounded vs. unbounded	Concrete vs. mass Bounded vs. unbounded Definite vs. indefinite
	Deictic system	3-way-system  Proximate vs. distal 1 vs. distal 2	3-way-system (horizontal) 2-way-system (vertical) Horizontal: Proximate vs. neutral vs. distal Vertical <sup>1</sup> : upward vs. downward	4-way-system  Proximate vs. neutral vs. distal 1 vs. distal 2 <sup>2</sup> .
	Semantic spread <sup>3</sup>	No	Temporal Past vs. present vs. future	Temporal Past vs. present

Figure 13.1. Overview of deictics in Woori, including their morpho-syntactic and semantic features.

The morpho-syntactic and semantic features set out in Figure 13.1 will be further discussed in different sections and subsections throughout this chapter.

### 13.4. Types of deictics

Woori has three types of deictics belonging to three different word classes:

locative nominal deictics, demonstrative modifiers and demonstrative pronouns.

<sup>1</sup> Vertical deictics distinguish the location of an object as below the speaker's shoulder and above the speaker's shoulder. The middle point is denoted by the neutral spatial orientation *vaw* 'NEU[NSG]'.

<sup>2</sup> PROXIMATE = spatio-temporal orientation that is close to both speaker and hearer; DISTAL 1 = spatio-temporal orientation that is far in a distance from the speaker but is closer to the hearer; DISTAL 2 = spatio-temporal orientation that is far in a distance from both the speaker and the hearer. In Woori, this three-way system is represented by three different spatial markers. Woori also has NEUTRAL deictic = spatial orientation that refers to the moderate distance in which the projected location is more or less in visible distance between the speaker and hearer.

<sup>3</sup> Spatial deictics that are semantically used for temporal reference, are compatible only with events in present time [+present] and in past time [+past], but do not have future time reference. For future time reference, the upward deictic *pe* 'UP[NSG]' of the vertical deictics is used.

### 13.4.1. Locative nominal deictics

Morphologically, locative nominal deictics are simple single words. They are functional words which modify the whole proposition at the clausal or sentential level. Syntactically, they can be in the form of a prepositional phrase and/or noun phrase to indicate adverbs of place, the location of the entity being referred to in the proposition. In grammatical relations, they are peripheral adjuncts.

Semantically, locative nominal deictics show a three-way distinction in location: proximate, distal 1 (simply refers as ‘there.1’) and distal 2 (‘there.2’). They are restricted to locative meaning and cannot be extended to temporal meaning. Table 13.1 presents the forms of the locative nominal deictics with their deictic orientation.

Table 13.1. Locative nominal deictics in Wooi

<b>Proximate</b>	<b>Distal 1</b>	<b>Distal 2</b>
<i>ning</i>	<i>yang</i>	<i>wang</i>

The following is the usage of the three deictic adverbs:

- a. *Ning* ‘here’ is used to indicate a location that is near the speaker and the hearer.
- b. *Yang* ‘there.1’ is used to indicate a location that is far from the speaker but is near the hearer.
- c. *Wang* ‘there.2’ is used to project a location that is far away from both the speaker and the hearer.

Syntactically, they can function as a prepositional adjunct or just as a locative nominal without a preposition. They are always clause- or sentence- final, as in (1) and (2).

(1) *Henda to wang to ning mantaung hembeja*  
 he-t-ra to wang to ning mantaung he-t-ve-jadi  
 3PL-PL-go to there.2 to here only 3PL-PL-VBLZ-become

*vetata pey kayra*  
 ve-tata pe-i kaira  
 VBLZ-crazy UP-SG only  
 ‘They are just walking back and forth as if they are crazy men’

(2) *Mate hnia henda wang*  
 mate hia he-t-ra wang  
 who[NSG] 3PL 3PL-PL-go there.2  
 ‘Who are they that are walking there?’

In (1) and (2), locative nominal deictics, whether they are with or without a preposition, occupy the adjunct periphery in the basic clause structure. The position of the adjunct periphery in the basic clause structure is discussed in §7.5. Although locative nominal deictics occupy this position, they are not mobile like other adjuncts, which can be fronted. Locative nominal deictics are restricted to the post clausal position.

### 13.4.2. Demonstrative modifiers

Demonstrative modifiers are a sub-class of determiners. They can be characterized morphologically, syntactically and semantically. Morphologically, demonstrative modifiers are compositional, being made up of a demonstrative deictic and number marking as shown in Table 13.2.

Syntactically, demonstrative modifiers only function as modifiers of a noun phrase and they are always in the right-most position in an NP. They are restricted in function as modifiers and do not have any other syntactic functions.

Semantically, demonstrative modifiers show a singular-non-singular distinction in which singular number is marked by the suffix *-i* ‘SG’ and the non-singular is unmarked. Thus, the non-singular one is the default number marking in the demonstrative deictics. Demonstrative modifiers are also distinguished into two orientations: vertical and horizontal demonstrative modifiers. Vertical demonstrative modifiers make a distinction between upward and downward in the proximate distance.

The horizontal modifiers make a distinction between proximate, neutral and distal. Table 13.2 shows the morphological, syntactic and semantic features of demonstrative modifiers in Woi.

Table 13.2. Morphological, syntactic and semantic features of demonstrative modifiers in Woi.

<b>DEMONSTRATIVE MODIFIERS</b>			
Morphology	Form	<b>DEM.DEI – NUM</b>	
Syntax	Function	<b>NP modifier</b>	
Semantic	Distal orientation	<b>Horizontal</b>	
		<b>Singular</b>	<b>Non-singular</b>
	<b>PROXIMATE</b>	<i>nei</i> /ne-i/	<i>ne</i>
	<b>NEUTRAL</b>	<i>vati</i> /va-i/	<i>vaw</i>
	<b>DISTAL</b>	<i>pai</i> /pa-i/	<i>pa</i>
		<b>Vertical</b>	
		<b>Singular</b>	<b>Non-singular</b>
	<b>DOWNWARD</b>	<i>vati</i> <sup>4</sup> /va-i/	<i>vaw</i>
<b>UPWARD</b>	<i>pei / peiti</i> /pe-i/ /pei-i/	<i>pe</i>	

As vertical and horizontal demonstrative modifiers indicate two contrastive semantic orientations in projecting objects, they cannot be used in combination with each other. If used in combination, incompatible pairs are produced. Forms such as \**neva*, \**nepa*, \**vape*, and \**pape* are not attested semantically as they contain semantically incompatible deictic information.

Horizontal demonstrative modifiers are those indicating distance: proximate vs. neutral vs. distal on the ground projection. The semantic description of three distances are given as follows:

- i. Proximate distance: the projected object is closed to both the speaker and the hearer in space and time.

<sup>4</sup> The presence of /t/ in *vati* ‘NEU-SG’ and *peiti* ‘UP-SG’ is a phonological process in which a consonant insertion is required when a clitic or a suffix is added to an open syllable deictic/demonstrative stem. The general phonological rule of consonant insertion is given in §2.6.9.

- ii. Neutral distance: the projected object is somewhat reachable to both the speaker and the hearer.
- iii. Distal distance: the projected object is far (unreachable/invisible) to both the speaker and the hearer.

The three forms *ne* ‘PRX’ vs. *vaw* ‘NEU’ vs. *pa* ‘DIST’ show a number distinction. The default forms are used for non-singular form; while for the singular, they are marked by the singular marker *-i* ‘SG’, i.e. *nei* ‘PRX-SG’ vs. *vati* ‘NEU-SG’ vs. *pai* ‘DIST-SG’. In (3), some dead pigs are near both the speaker and the hearer. Thus, the non-singular proximate deictic is used.

(3)	<i>Dominggus</i>	<i>hiuntaray</i>	<i>Wooi Rawing</i>	<i>tina</i>	<i>anti</i>
	Dominggus	hinyontaray	Wooi Rawing	ti-i-na	anti
	Dominggus	person	Wooi	COP-3SG-3	3SG.FOC
	<i>miung</i>	<i>asurang</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>pa</i>	
	ti-mung	asurang	ne	pa	
	3SG-kill	pig	PRX[NSG]	FOC	

‘Dominggus who is a Wooi person killed these pigs.’

In (4), the person whose name is John is not present there in the time of speaking. Thus, he is considered far away from both the speaker and the hearer. In this case, the singular distal deictic is used to refer to the object.

(4)	<i>Hinyontaray</i>	<i>wampai</i>	<i>veve</i>	<i>hano</i>	<i>Jon</i>	<i>pai</i>
	hinyontarai	wang-pa-i	veve	hano	Jon	pa-i
	person	there.2-DIST-SG	REL	name	John	DIST-SG
	<i>co</i>	<i>ria</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>pasar</i>		
	ti-o	ti-ra	to	pasar		
	3SG-want	3SG-go	to	market		

‘The person whose name is John wants to go to the market’

In (5), the speaker considers that the distance of the house in the frog story picture is somewhat reachable for both the speaker and the hearer but is still visible for both. Thus, the singular neutral deictic is used.

(5)	<i>...spatu</i>	<i>veve</i>	<i>tu</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>manu</i>	<i>rarong vati...</i>
	spatu	veve	tura	na	manu	rarong va-i
	shoe	REL	lay.down.LOC	LOC	house	inside NEU-SG

‘...the shoes that are inside the house...’ [frogstory2\_JK\_016]

Vertical demonstrative modifiers have two forms to distinguish downward vs. upward directions. The neutral deictic *vati* ‘NEU-SG’ and *vaw* ‘NEU[NSG]’ are also used for downward direction, as opposed to the upward deictic *pei/peiti* ‘UP-SG’ and *pe* ‘UP[NSG]’.

Semantically, they take a range between the eye and shoulder of a human as the boundary to distinguish the upward or downward projection of an object. Objects located above the shoulder are considered to be upward so they are modified by the upward demonstrative modifiers. Objects that are located below the shoulder are considered to be downward. Thus, the neutral demonstrative modifier is used. These are exemplified in (6) and (7).

(6) *Bia*                    *vuruy* *ay*            ***peiti***  
 bia                    vurui    ai            pe-i-i  
 [1SG]go.down    leave    tree            UP-SG-SG  
 ‘I went down from up the tree’

(7) *Pierang*            *varang*                ***vati***  
 ti-perang            vara-ng                va-i  
 3SG-cut            hand-3SG.PSR    NEU-SG  
 ‘He/she cut his/her hand’

In (6), the vertical demonstrative modifier *peiti* ‘UP-SG’ modifies the noun *ay* ‘tree’ as the focal point from which the action of going down started. Thus, the speaker uses the upward deictic. In (7), *vara* ‘hand’ is modified by the deictic *vati* ‘NEU-SG’ as semantically the hand is located below one’s shoulder.

The neutral deictic with the meaning ‘downward’ may be extended to project a certain time in the past. In the story where a first generation of Wihyawari was expected to be the first clan settled in Wooi, the deictic *vaw* ‘NEU[NSG]’ and *vati* ‘NEU-SG’ are used to modify the NP. Thus, the deictics are used to describe temporal reference in the past as in (8) and (9).

- (8) *Payna marga veve o: pampong to rawing nei*  
 paina marga veve o pampong to rawing ne-i  
 so.that clan REL INTJ first to bay PRX-SG
- ma mara Wihnyawari vaw hia*  
 ma mara Wihyawari vau hia  
 hither that Wihnyarai NEU[NSG] 3PL
- ‘So the clan that were first came to this bay was Wihnyawari clan.’ [MARGA\_exp 006-008]

- (9) *Mana karna vaving Wihnyawari vati ririaw*  
 mana karna vaving Wihyawari va-i ti-ririaw  
 but because Woman Wihnyawari NEU-SG 3SG-marry
- na wampa ririaw na Kapitaraw Pomi payna*  
 na wang-pa ti-ririaw na Kapitarau Pomi paina  
 LOC there.2-DIST[NSG] 3SG-marry LOC Kapitaraw Pom so
- ‘But because the Wihnyawari woman married there, married to the Kapitaraw of Pom, so...’ [MARGA\_exp 053-055]

The upward deictics *pei* or *pe* vary when describing different projections toward the upward orientation. Various forms related to the use of such deictics show the world-view of the Wooi people toward the orientation. Some of the uses are described below:

It is used to describe the vertical spatial orientation between the house and under the house as in (10).

- (10) *Vaving pe hia hetapay ra katu ma*  
 vaving pe hia he-t-apai ra katekatu mara  
 woman UP[NSG] 3PL PL-PL-run thither later then
- ey cara pendasia na kamari vaw*  
 ei ti-tawa ti-pandasia na kamari vau  
 one 3SG-fall 3SG-fall.to.water LOC under.house NEU[NSG]
- ‘...then the women in the house ran later and one of them fell down to the water under the house.’

In (10), the speaker is somewhat lower than the house and describes the story about women who are in the traditional house built on the water and one of them falls into the water under the house. Thus, the deictic *pe* ‘UP[NSG]’ modifies the noun *vaving* ‘woman’ in terms of their spatial orientation and number feature, which is non-singular. The use of *vaw* ‘NEU[NSG]’ in the prepositional phrase *na kamari vaw* describes the projected downward orientation under the house where the woman falls to.



The topography of Wooi Bay shows an extreme contrast of inland and coastal areas in which the land is steep and hilly. Thus, the use of deictics also represents these two extreme spatial orientations: landward vs. seaward. This is further described in §13.7.1. Here, the deictic *pei* ‘UP-SG’ attaches to the word *ruing* ‘above’ that then refers to the landward orientation as in (11). The structure of *ruing* ‘above’ and the vertical deictic still reflects the syntactic function of the demonstrative modifier in which the vertical deictic modifies the locative noun *ruing* ‘above’, although in terms of its grammatical relations, it is a prepositional adjunct on the periphery.

- (11) *Ramdempe unda ho riumpei*  
 ramdempe u-t-ra ho ruing-pe-i  
 yesterday 1DU.EXC-go to.PERF above-UP-SG  
 ‘Yesterday we went up there (toward the hill)’

In (11), the direction is opposite to the direction toward the sea as in (12), which is indicated by terms that otherwise encode ‘down’, which is not included in the vertical demonstrative modifier. It is a topographical spatial orientation term ‘down’.

- (12) *Ramiena mara yo ra ayndi*  
 ramiena mara y-o ra aindi  
 This afternoon that 1SG-want [1SG]go downward  
 ‘This afternoon I want to go down toward the sea’

This topographical orientation and its pragmatic and semantic description is further described in §13.8.

In the text of a village meeting prayer, the morphologically complex form that includes the upward deictic refers to a place upwards toward the sky as in (13). The complex deictic *yeypeica* ‘upward’ is only used in the prayer to refer to God in heaven and cannot be used for other functions. Its other variations are *peicang* and *peicai*.

- (13) *Piami pa aw na yeypeica<sup>5</sup> ...*  
 piami pa aw na yeypeica  
 Almighty.God DIST[NSG] 2SG LOC upward  
 ‘Almighty God, You are in heaven...’ [villagemeetingprayer\_JEN]

<sup>5</sup> The word *yeypeica* used in this text is a loan word from the neighbouring Ansus language to represent upward orientation. The word is used in the prayer and it has probably been used in such a context by the Wooi people. It is basically similar to the upward orientation deictic *wipei* in Wooi.

Referring to upward location, another morphologically complex deictic is used. Syntactically, the deictic *wipei* ‘upward’ takes the preposition *na* ‘LOC’ and functions as an adjunct in the sentence. Example (14) is from the frog story, describing when the frog puts its head into the jar and jumps with the jar.

- (14) *Cuva*            *riukami*            *vat*            *vavaw*            *kiopa*  
 ti-tuva            riukami            va-i            va-vau            ti-kopa  
 3SG-put.on        [3SG]head        NEU-SG        NEU-RED        3SG-jump
- tutu*    *toples*    *na*        ***wipei***  
 tutu    toples    na        wi-pe-i  
 with    jar        LOC    above<sup>6</sup>-UP-SG  
 ‘He put his head into the jar and he jumped upward’ [frog\_story\_JEN]

The upward deictic *pei* ‘UP.SG’ is also used in combination with deictic adverbs *ning* ‘here’, *wang* ‘there’ and *yang* ‘there’ to function as an upward locative adverb. The combinations are *peining*, *peiyang*, and *peiwang*. Syntactically they function as locative nominal deictics like *ning*, *wang* and *yang* and are placed in the post clausal position as in (15).

- (15) *Aya*    *wampai*            *ti*            *hepo*            *peinimpa*  
 aya        wang-pa-i            ti            ti-hapo            pe-i-ning=pa  
 bird        there.2-DIST-SG FOC.SG        3SG-fly            UP-SG-here=FOC  
 ‘It is the bird that flew up here’

Such combinations are also semantically extended to refer to an expected event in the future. Thus, the combination of *peining* ‘UP-here’ refers to an event that is about to happen, *peiyang* ‘UP-there’ refers to an event that will happen in near future, and *peiwang* ‘UP-there’ refers to an event that is expected to happen in the future. The sentence in (16) describes a context in which the speaker did not sleep all night long and felt sleepy and was about to go to sleep.

- (16) *Yo*            *yena*            ***pei=ning***  
 y-o            y-ena            pe-i=ning  
 1SG-want        1SG-sleep        UP-SG=here  
 ‘I am about to sleep’

---

<sup>6</sup> The morpheme *wi-* ‘above’ lexically means ‘hill or mount’. In the context of deictics, the morpheme *wi-* is used to refer to upward location and it must be in combination with the upward deictic that means ‘upward’.

In (17), the context is when a dog is on the way to approach the hearer, and the speaker expects that the dog can probably bite the hearer sometime in the near future.

- (17) *Wona pai keri aw peiyang*  
 wona pa-i ti-kari au pe-i-yang  
 dog DIST-SG 3SG-bite 2SG UP-SG-there.1  
 ‘The dog is going to bite you’

The upward deictic also describes an activity expected to be done in the future time reference. In (18), the event of people arriving in the expected location is sometime in the future of the day of speaking. It is still not known yet though. The speaker only announces that people are coming but does not know the time of arrival.

- (18) *Hinyontaray wampa hia henda ma peiwang*  
 hinyontarai wang-pa hia he-t-ra ma pe-i-wang  
 person there.2-DIST[NSG] 3PL 3PL-go hither UP-SG-there.2  
 ‘The people will come here (and they might arrive sometime today or later)’

### 13.4.3. Demonstrative pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns are a word class that has a different and broader syntactic function than locative nominal deictics and demonstrative modifiers. They are characterized by morphological, syntactic and semantic features. Morphologically, they are combinatory deictics consisting of locative nominal deictics, demonstrative modifiers and number marking, as shown in Table 13.3.

Table 13.3. Demonstrative pronouns in Wooi

Demonstrative pronouns					
Proximate		Distal 1		Distal 2	
Singular	Non-singular	Singular	Non-singular	Singular	Non-singular
<i>ninei</i>	<i>nine</i>	<i>yampai</i>	<i>yampa</i>	<i>wampai</i>	<i>wampa</i>
/ning-ne-i/	/ning-ne/	/yang-pa-i/	/yang-pa/	/wang-pa-i/	/wang-pa/

The morphological forms in Table 13.4 show the fixed order of morphemes. Semantically, the locative nominal deictic and demonstrative modifier must be compatible. That is, the proximate locative nominal deictic can only be paired with the

proximate deictic modifier. Table 13.4 gives the compatible pairings among deictic adverbs and demonstrative modifiers.

Table 13.4. Matching mechanism of demonstrative pronouns in Wooi

DEI. ADV			DEM. DEI		NUMBER	
	PROX		PROX	DIST	SG	NSG
	PROX	<i>ning</i>	<i>ne</i>		<i>-i</i>	unmarked
	DIST 1	<i>yang</i>		<i>pa</i>		
	DIST 2	<i>wang</i>		<i>pa</i>		

Other combinations, for instance a distal deictic and a proximate deictic such as *\*nimpai*, *\*nimpa*, *\*yanei*, *\*yane*, *\*wanei*, *\*wane*, are not acceptable in Wooi.

Syntactically, demonstrative pronouns may function as determiners of NPs, the arguments (subject or object) of a predicate, or the predicate of a clause. As NP modifiers, they are always positioned in the final position of an NP (see §4.2), as in (19) and (20).

- (19) *Muang yangpai ti cong buku nine*  
 muang yang-pa-i ti ti-ong buku ning-ne  
 man there.1-DIST-SG FOC.SG 3SG-give book here-PRX[NSG]

*ve ya pa*  
 ve ya pa  
 for 1SG FOC  
 ‘It is that man who gave these books to me’

- (20) *Ve ong buku ninei ve ya pai*  
 ve ong buku ning-ne-i ve ya pa-i  
 REL give book here-PRX-SG for 1SG DIST-SG

*vo muang wampai*  
 vo muang wang-pa-i  
 FOC.NOM man there.2-DIST-SG  
 ‘The one who gave me this book is that man’

Semantically, a demonstrative pronoun shows two features, i.e. number distinction and generic-specific meaning. As for number, demonstrative pronouns distinguish singular from non-singular, as in (19) and (20). The singular number is marked by the suffix *-i* ‘SG’ attaching to a demonstrative pronoun, whereas, the non-singular number is unmarked. Non-singular number also shows generic meaning to the

noun, whereas, the singular number always indicates a specific meaning. In (21), it is a general statement that dogs are ferocious without referring to any particular dogs or if we compare to cats, dogs are ferocious. In (22), it projects a specific person who acts as John's teacher.

(21) *Wona wampa hia hembaruy*  
 Wona wang-pa hia he-t-barui  
 Dog there.2-DIST[NSG] 3PL 3PL-PL-ferocious  
 'Dogs are ferocious.'

(22) *hiuntaray wampai vo Jon nye kuru tina*  
 Hinyontarai wang-pa-i vo Jon ne-i kuru ti-i-na  
 Person there.2-DIST-SG FOC.NOM John POSS-3SG.PSR teacher COP-3SG-3  
 'That person is John's teacher.'

When referring to a non-specific entity, the existential marker *pei* 'EXIST-SG' can be used for singular. For instance, if we say 'he bought a book yesterday', the existential *pei* 'EXIST-SG' is used to refer to singular non-specific item, as in (23).

(23) *Tevayang buku pei na ramdempe*  
 ti-tavayang buku pe-i na ramdempe  
 3SG-bought book EXIST-SG LOC yesterday  
 'He bought a book yesterday.'

The existential morpheme *pe* 'EXIST' is homophonic with the upward deictic *pe* 'UP'. However, they are different in meaning and also in syntactic use. Further description of the existential morpheme is given in §7.4.4.

Demonstrative pronouns can function syntactically as the subject or the object of a predicate. When it is a subject it is always in the pre-clausal position, as in the following non-verbal predicates in (24) and (25).

(24) *Wampai Yan tina ne*  
 wang-pa-i Yan ti-i-na e  
 there.2-DIST-SG Yan 3-3SG-COP Q  
 'Is that a Yan?'

(25) *Ninei vo ami<sup>7</sup> tina*  
 ning-ne-i vo ami ti-i-na  
 here-PRX-SG FOC.NOM mother 3-3SG-COP  
 'This (not that one) is my mother'

<sup>7</sup> *Ami* 'mother' is a generic term referring to mother and the use is widely spread among languages in Cenderawasih Bay. It does not relate to the kinship term *hinyai* 'my mother' that is directly possessed in Wooi. Its counterpart is *pai* 'father'.

In (24), the demonstrative pronoun *wampai* is the subject of the nominal predicate in which it is juxtaposed to the predicate. In (25), the demonstrative pronoun *ninei* is the focus subject marked by the focus marker *vo* ‘FOC’ in the nominal predicate.

As an object, it is positioned in post-verbal position, in a verbal predicate position, as in (26) and (27). They syntactically fill the object argument position as an NP or a pronoun does, as described in Table 7.1.

(26) *Heto*            *hengko*            *yampai*  
 he-t-o            he-t-ko            yang-pa-i  
 3PL-PL-want    3PL-PL-bring    there.1-DIST-SG  
 ‘They want to bring that.’

(27) *Mandama*            *mandeho*            *ninei*  
 ma-t-ra=ma            ma-t-re-ho            ning-ne-i  
 1PL.EXC-PL-go=hither    1PL.EXC-PL-eye-HO    here-PRX-SG  
 ‘We come to see this.’

Demonstrative pronouns may also function as the predicate in a non-verbal predicate, as in (28) and (29).

(28) *Buku* *veve* *buona*            *ve* *ya*            *pai*            *vo*  
 buku    veve    bu-ong=a            ve    ya            pa-i            vo  
 Book    REL    2SG-give=OBJ.NSG for 1SG    DIST-SG            FOC.NOM

*wampai*  
 wang-pa-i  
 there.2-DIST-SG  
 ‘The book that you gave me is that one’

(29) *Asurang*            *veve* *ne*            *pai*            *vo*            *ninei*  
 asurang            veve    ne            pa-i            vo            ning-ne-i  
 Pig            REL    POSS[1SG.PSR] DIST-SG            FOC.NOM            here-PRX-SG  
 ‘The pig that is mine is this one’

As described, the demonstrative pronouns showing a proximate-distal distinction are morphologically combined and they are compatible semantically. However, there is another demonstrative pronoun that does not match morphologically with proximate-distal demonstrative pronouns. It is a neutral demonstrative pronoun. Thus, it is described separately.

To project a neutral distance, the neutral demonstrative pronoun is used. This demonstrative is quite distinct from the proximate and distal pairs illustrated in Figure 13.2. Unlike its proximate and distal counterparts, its morphological combination includes the neutral demonstrative modifier *va* ‘NEU’ plus proximate deictic *ne* ‘PRX’ and number marking.

The term ‘neutral’ is used to describe the semantic function of the deictic in two ways: firstly, it is used to project a location of an object or location that is somewhat far in distance but is still visible or reachable to the speaker and the hearer. Secondly, it is semantically used as a modifier to refer to shared ‘possessed’ knowledge between the speaker and the hearer of any particular thing or location between speaker and hearer, as illustrated in (30) and (31).

- (30) *Wa vanei ti Agus nyei pa*  
 wa va-ne-i ti Agus ne-i-i pa  
 canoe NEU-PRX-SG FOC.SG Agus 3SG-POSS=3OBJ FOC  
 ‘It is the canoe that Agus owns.’

- (31) *...rao kiong no maneta Werimon Enosi*  
 rao ti-kong no ma-neta Werimon Enosi  
 until 3SG-COM INJ 1PL.EXC-sibling Werimon Enos=3SG
- nya Harui vane kaite...*  
 ti-na Harui va-ne kaite  
 3SG-live Serui NEU-PRX[NSG] then  
 ‘...he is with our sibling, Enos Werimon, lives in Serui then...’

In (30), the proposition can be understood as presupposing that both speaker and hearer are in the same position and project the object *wa* ‘canoe’ somewhat far, but reachable or visible to both the speaker and the hearer. In (31), the location *Serui* is a place that is generally known by both speaker and hearer and it is recognized as the big capital town of Yapen. In the case of sentence (31), the distance is not relevant.

Unlike other demonstrative pronouns, neutral demonstratives can be reduplicated. The reduplicated form *vavaw* is used to indicate the distance which is far

but is still reachable in the sense of people have a capability to go there. Syntactically, it always takes the preposition *na* ‘LOC’ and is positioned in the adjunct, as in (32).

- (32) *Trus*<sup>8</sup> *hembo*      *hembo*      *na*    *vavaw*      *hembo*  
 trus    be-t-vo      he-t-vo      na    va-vaw      he-t-vo  
 then    3PL-paddle    3PL-paddle    LOC    DOWN-RED    3PL-paddle
- ra*                    *hemahi...*  
 ra                    he-t-mahi  
 tither                3PL-PL-arrive  
 ‘Then, they paddled, paddled to there until they arrived...’

### 13.5. Complex combination of deictics

There are also forms that appear to be morphologically complex. On the surface, they are made up of the otherwise attested morpheme *na* ‘LOC’ affixed to a demonstrative pronoun. The forms are as follows: *ninane*, *yanapa*, *wanapa* and *vavaw*. Morphologically, they can be analyzed as:

<i>ninane</i>	<i>yanapa</i>	<i>wanapa</i>
ning-na-ne here-LOC-PRX ‘Here’	yang-na-pa there.1-LOC-DIST ‘there’	wang-na-pa there.2-LOC-DIST ‘there’

Syntactically, they appear as locative adjuncts in the clausal-final position. They function as locative nominals like locative nominal deictics *ning*, *yang*, *wang* described in §13.4.1. They can also appear either with or without the preposition, as in (33) and (34).

- (33) *Veve* *intene*      *na*    *ninane*      *pa*      *vo*    *pitoi*  
 veve    intene      na    ning-na-ne    pa      vo    pito-i  
 REL    just.now      LOC    here-LOC-PRX    DIST[NSG]    FOC    what-SG
- aina*  
 ai-na  
 NSG-3  
 ‘What are those which were here just now?’

<sup>8</sup> *Trus* is a Malay word functioning as a conjunction.



- (34) *Impayna*      *hetaweri*                      *topi*    *yanapa*                      *hetong*  
 impaina      he-t-awe-i                      topi    yang-na-pa                      he-t-ong  
 so                      3PL-PL-look.for-3SG                      be.like    there.1-LOC-DIST                      3PL-PL-make
- wa*    *baba*    *pehi*                      *rao*    *vihnieng*  
 wa    baba    pe-i                      rao    vihieng  
 canoe    big    EXIST-SG                      until    good
- ‘So they looked for her there, they made a big canoe until it looked well built.’

### 13.6. Semantic spread: temporal meaning

Cross-linguistically, deictics may also extend their function to indicate time reference as indicated by Tenbrink (2007: 13) that “time is measured by means of space.” This is also observable in Woi: demonstrative modifiers and demonstrative pronouns are also used to indicate time reference. The semantic spread of spatial deictic modifiers to temporal deictic modifiers can be explained by the following patterns:

1. Proximate projection represented by the deictic markers of both demonstrative modifiers and demonstrative pronouns may denote now-time or today-time reference, which is glossed as [+present]: *ne* ‘PRX[NSG]’ and *nine* ‘here-PRX[NSG]’.
2. Distal projection represented only by the distal demonstrative modifier may indicate past-time reference, which is glossed as [+past]: *pa* ‘DIST[NSG]’.
3. Forms other than those mentioned in 1 and 2, e.g. *vane*, *wampa* and *yampa*, cannot have temporal reference.
4. Upward deictic may encode future time reference, which is represented as [+future]: *pe* ‘UP[NSG]’.
5. Of all the deictics used for modifying time reference, only the default (non-singular) forms are grammatical in this function, except for the to-day or present-day time reference.

These parameters can be exemplified in the examples (35) to (37) below.

- (35) *na Wooi Rawing ha nei mahi mara*  
*na Wooi Rawing ha ne-i ma-t-hi mara*  
 LOC Wooi Bay day PRX-SG 1PL.EXC-PL-paddle that
- mangkay wa pampang*  
 ma-t-kai wa pampang  
 1PL.EXC-PL-use canoe continue
- ‘Today in Wooi, we always use canoe [as our transportation]’

In (35), the demonstrative modifier *nei* ‘PRX-SG’ is used to describe the present day’s activity that the people of Wooi practice as a routine activity. The deictic takes the singular number marking *-i* ‘SG’ as it refers to the now-time reference. Whereas, in (36), *pa* ‘DIST[NSG]’ attaches to *maung* ‘there’ to describe an event that has already been done in the past time. The deictic carries non-singular number marking as it refers to the non-now time reference.

- (36) *Yordan ria ma ho Wooi Rawing na ha koru*  
 Yordan ti-ra ma ho Wooi Rawing na ha koru  
 Yordan 3SG-go hither to.PERF Wooi LOC day two
- maumpa mana teveri to Harui reanto*  
 maung=pa mana ti-tavari to Harui rea=to  
 there=DIST[NSG] but 3SG-return to Serui again=PERF
- ‘Yordan came here to Wooi two days ago but he has returned to Serui again’

In (37), the modifier *pe* ‘UP[NSG]’ is used to project a future time reference as ‘a time above now-time reference’ in which an event is expected to be carried out in the future. The deictic is marked non-singular as it refers to the not-now time reference.

- (37) *ha pe koru rea marainte henda to*  
 ha pe koru rea marainte he-t-ra to  
 day UP[NSG] two again then 3PL-PL-go to
- nine ma*  
 ning-ne ma  
 here-PRX[NSG] hither
- ‘They will come here again in two days.’

## **13.7. Spatial orientation**

### **13.7.1. Physical landscape**

The Wooi people live in the very narrow and enclosed bay called Wooi Rawing ‘Wooi Bay’ on the southwest of Yapen Island, in Cenderawasih Bay, north of New Guinea. The Wooi village faces the sea of Cenderawasih Bay towards the mainland of New Guinea. The island is surrounded by the Pacific Ocean and Biak Island to the north, and the sea of Cenderawasih Bay and the mainland of New Guinea to the south. Yapen Island is mountainous and almost all the villages are built along the coastline. Thus, there is an extreme latitude between coastlines to the mountainous areas. The geographical description was discussed in §1.3.

The mouth of the bay to the open sea is narrow and faces south; while the bay itself lies to the north side toward Mangkaroway Mountain, from where the Wooi River and several small streams come down to the bay. The topography around the bay is hilly and the foot hills come down directly to the water, which does not leave enough flat land for settlement. Therefore, people build their houses on the water along the bay and their lives depend mostly on the sea (see Map 13.1).

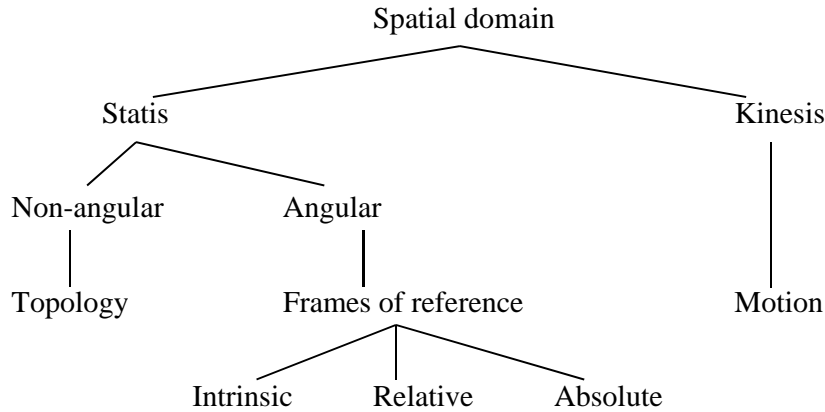


Map 13.1. Wooi Bay and its surrounding physical environment.

### 13.7.2. Spatial domain

Wooi spatial orientation is described according to Levinson and Wilkins' concepts of spatial domain as conceptualized in (38).

(38) Conceptual subdivisions of the spatial domain (Levinson and Wilkins 2006: 3).



Spatial domain has two basic projected domains, which are static or ‘not moving’ projection and kinetis or ‘moving’ projection. These two projected domains can be narrowed down more precisely into three descriptive concepts, i.e. the concepts of topological (or topology) description, frames of reference and motion description. Topology relates to static reference to project an object located in a certain stative landmark. Linguistically, topology can be described by means of adpositions, verbs and other means. Frames of reference basically refer to kinds of coordinate systems that are used to locate a projected object. The coordinate systems depend on the physical landscapes of the natural world. There are three types of frames of references: intrinsic, relative and absolute, as mentioned in §13.2. Motion description typically refers to kinetic or moving concept of motion to (or toward) a goal or from a source. Basing on this motion, one can specify a direction without any frames of references. Linguistically, motion can be captured through motion verbs, motion particles and adpositions. These three descriptive concepts will be used in the description of spatial orientation in Woi.

## 13.8. Types of spatial orientation

### 13.8.1. Topological type

There are two linguistic devices that are used to indicate topological description of spatial orientation in Woi, i.e. topological verbs and prepositions. There are two verbs in Woi that are used to locate an object in a static projected location, i.e. *vata* ‘lay down.LOC’ and *tura* ‘stand up.LOC’, as in (39) and (40).

- (39) ...*temtuma*    *antung*            *vat*    *vo*                    *antung*  
ti-tantuma      antu-ng            va-i    vo                    antu-ng  
3SG-shock      child-3SG.PSR    NEU-SG FOC.NOM    child-3SG.PSR
- vati*    *anti*                    *ria*                    *keria*                    ***viata***  
va-i    anti                    ti-ra                    ti-karia                    ti-vata  
NEU-SG 3SG.FOC            3SG-go                    3SG-die                    3SG-lay.down.LOC
- nando ru*    *pi*    *o:*    *manu*    *repuy...*  
nando ru    pi    o    manu    repui  
banana stem    DET    FILL    house    back  
‘...she (his mother) was shocked to know that her child (frog) went and died under the banana tree behind the house..’ [frogstory1\_EW\_JEN 036-037]

- (40) *Ivo*                    ***tura***                    *na*    *roy...*  
i=vo                    tura                    na    roy  
it=FOC                    stand.up.LOC            LOC    fire.place  
‘It is the one (Kokoya) that is located at the fire place...’ [Kokoya\_exp\_JEW 054]

Both verbs *vata* ‘lay down.LOC’ and *tura* ‘stand up.LOC’ are used to project an object in a certain location. Both verbs are semantically different. The difference has been previously discussed in §7.4.3.1 and §7.4.3.2.

There is also a preposition that projects a location. It is the locative preposition *na* ‘LOC’. The preposition describes the topological location in which a projected object is located. This preposition is always used together with the topological verbs as exemplified in (39) and (40). This preposition has also been described in §3.3.3.1.

### 13.8.2. Frames of references types

The Wooi people use the following frames of references types to project spatial orientation:

1. Intrinsic frame of reference refers to certain kind of the ground object or landmark such as a house, a table, a tree, etc., that is used to project the orientation. In Wooi, several relational spatial expressions such as *vava* 'under', *vavo* 'on', *umbaw* 'below', *wipei* 'upward', *horare* 'beside', *repong* 'in front of', *repui* 'back', *rindi* or *ri* 'outside', *mapui* 'inside', *rapui* 'inside', *raro* 'inside', *havaru* 'to the next', are used to signal the location. Mainly, it depends on the position of the speaker as the ego-centric towards the location of a projected object.
2. Relative frame of reference relates to geographical and topographical characteristics of the Wooi world. People of Wooi use these coordinate systems to set up the frame of reference:
  - a. Yapen Island and Wooi village as local centric, where the speaker (ego-centric) project his/her orientation.
  - b. Sea of Cenderawasih Bay and Yapen island
  - c. Mainland New Guinea and sea of Cenderawasih Bay
  - d. Mangkaroway Mountain of Yapen and sea of Cenderawasih Bay.
3. Absolute frame of reference relates to the location of Yapen island toward the following coordinate systems:
  - a. Landward vs. Seaward
  - b. Mountain vs. coast

### 13.8.2.1. Intrinsic frame of reference

Wooi makes use of locative adverbs to project an object in certain locations such as in English sentences ‘*he is standing in front of the church*’ or ‘*John and Mary are talking outside the library*’, etc. Locative adverbs are used to describe relational spatial orientation between the speaker/hearer and an object. They may describe the stative location of an object, but also the spatial orientation of the speaker-hearer towards the object. Retz-Schmidt (1988) refers to these relational spatial expressions as spatial prepositions. However, in Wooi, the forms and how they operate are different. They always co-occur with the locative preposition or locative verbs. The following is the list of locative adverbs that express relational spatial expressions in Wooi.

Relational spatial expressions
<i>vava</i> ‘under’
<i>vavo</i> ‘on’
<i>umbaw</i> ‘below’
<i>wipei</i> ‘upward’
<i>horare</i> ‘beside’
<i>repong</i> ‘in front of’
<i>repui</i> ‘back’
<i>rindi</i> or <i>ri</i> ‘outside’
<i>mapui</i> ‘inside’ {ma=pui}
<i>rapui</i> ‘inside’ {ra=pui}
<i>raro</i> ‘inside’
<i>havaru</i> ‘to the next’

Figure 13.2. Adverbs that express relational spatial orientation in Wooi

There are expressions in which semantically compatible locative adverbs co-occur. The word *vava* ‘under’ can only pair with the word *vavo* ‘on’ to express the vertical relational orientation. Another pair is the word *umbaw* ‘downward’ and the word *wipei* ‘upward’. Three different expressions to indicate the spatial ‘inside’ have different usage based on the position of the speaker and the hearer. In (41-43), the pairs of relational expressions *vava* ‘under’ and *vavo* ‘on’ describe the stative location of the projected objects, without referring to the speaker and hearer orientation. These examples are more object-oriented.



- (41) *Nye buku piti viata meja pai vava*  
 ne-i buku pi-i ti-vata meja pa-i vava  
 POSS-3SG.PSR book DEI-SG 3SG-be.placed table DIST-SG below  
 ‘His/her book is under the table’
- (42) *Ay baba wampai vava ti ria na pa*  
 ai baba wang-pa-i vava ti ti-ra LOC pa  
 tree big there.2-DIST-SG below FOC.SG 3SG-go LOC FOC  
 ‘It is that big tree under which she/she walked’
- (43) *Buku wampai yon viata na meja ninei*  
 buku wang-pa-i y-ong ti-vata na meja ning-ne-i  
 book there.2-DIST-SG 1SG-put 3SG-be.placed LOC table here-PRX-SG
- vavo**  
 vavo  
 above  
 ‘It is the book that I put on this table.’

The relational expressions *umbaw* ‘downward’ and *wipei* ‘upward’ indicate locational orientation of ‘below’ and ‘above’ based on the speaker and the hearer ego centric and landmark orientation. In (44), it is a landmark orientation that sets up the orientation. The speaker then expresses the motion downward by using the adverb *umbaw* ‘downward.’ In (44), the speaker was at his garden located on the hill and then he is walking down the hill in the first instance so *umbaw* ‘downward’ describes the speaker direction from the top of the hill to the village located down the hill.

- (44) *Ra to umbaw rambori*  
 ra to umbaw ra=vori  
 [1SG]go to downward thither=in.the.first.instance  
 ‘I walk downwards in the first instance’

In (45), it is the ego-centric orientation that is used to set up the orientation of upward.

- (45) *Hinyontaray wampai hio bar vanei*  
 hinyontarai wang-pa-i ti-ho bar va-ne-i  
 person there.2-DIST-SG 3SG-throw ball NEU-PRX-SG
- to wipei ra*  
 to wi-pe-i ra  
 to above-UP-SG thither  
 ‘That person threw the ball upwards.’

The relational expression *raro* ‘inside’ is used to locate the object inside another object. The context in (46) is that the speaker and the hearer are standing in her room

and the hearer first asks the speaker about her clothes so she points to the bag located in her room and says that her clothes are in the bag.

- (46) *Tas*    *yampai*    *ti*    *ne*    *hasung*    *viata*  
tas    yang-pa-i    ti    ne    hasung    ti-vata  
bag    there.1-DIST-SG FOC-SG    POSS[1SG]    cloth    3SG-be.placed
- na    ***rarompa***  
na    raro=pa  
LOC    inside=FOC  
‘It is the bag that my clothes are in’

Other relational spatial expressions are used to describe the stative location of objects without referring to the position of the speaker and the hearer. The syntactic position of the deictic adverbs is post-clausal, as in (47-50).

- (47) *Yong*    *humbe*    *pai*    *viata*    *na*  
y-ong    humbe    pa-i    ti-vata    na  
1SG-put    machete    DIST-SG    3SG-be.located    LOC
- meja*    *wampai*    ***horare***  
meja    wang-pa-i    horare  
table    there.2-DIST-SG    beside  
‘I put the machete beside the table’

- (48) *Agus*    *cena*    *mantaung*    *nye*    *manu*    ***repong***  
Agus    ti-ena    mantaung    ne-i    manu    repong  
Agus    3SG-sleep    only    POSS-3SG.PSR    house    in.front.of  
‘Agus slept/is sleeping alone in front of his house’

- (49) *Riruy*    *aymiha*    *na*    *manu*    ***repuy***  
rirui    ai-miha    na    manu    repui  
[1SG]collect    wood-fire    LOC    house    behind  
‘I collected the firewood and put it behind the house’

- (50) *Mantaung*    *ra*    *to*    *pandu*    ***havaru***  
mantaung    ra    to    pandu    havaru  
only    [1SG]go    to    village    next  
‘I was alone going to the neighbouring village.’

There are some relational expressions that are used with motion verbs such as go, bring, walk, carry, etc. In the context of going inside a house, different expressions are used based on the different positions of the speaker and the hearer and the motion verb such as *ko* ‘bring’. The expression in (51) describes a situation in which the speaker is inside

the house while the hearer is outside the house, and the speaker asks the hearer to bring a certain object, *payung* ‘umbrella’, to the speaker inside the house.

- (51) *Kuo*            *payung*            *vane*            *mapui*  
 bu-ko            payung            va-ne            ma-pui  
 2SG-bring      umbrella          NEU-PRX[NSG] hither=inside  
 ‘Bring the umbrella in!’

The expression in (52) describes a situation where both the speaker and the hearer are outside the house and the speaker asks the hearer to take the object, *payung* ‘umbrella’ and go inside the house, while the speaker remains outside the house.

- (52) *Kuo*            *payung*            *vane*            *rapui*  
 bu-ko            payung            va-ne            ra=pui  
 2SG-bring      umbrella          NEU-PRX[NSG] thither=inside  
 ‘Take the umbrella in!’

In the frog story, when the small child and the dog are looking to a hole and are waiting for the frog to come out, at some time later it comes out from the hole. Thus the expression *ma=ri* ‘hither=outside’ describes the direction of the frog coming out from the hole toward the small child and the dog. This is illustrated in (53).

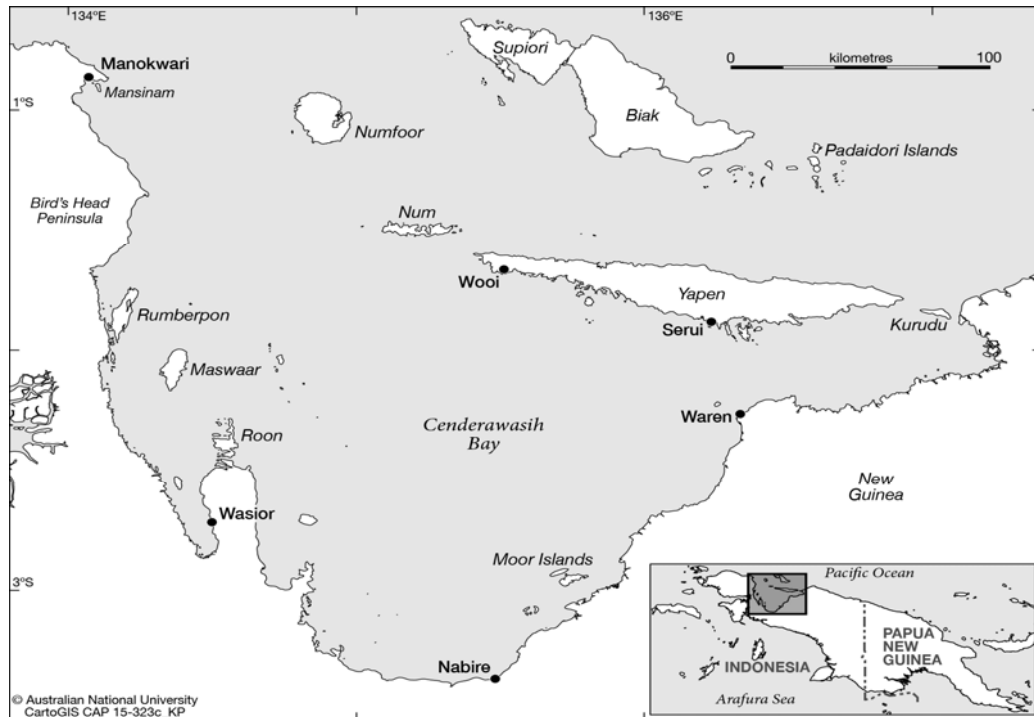
- (53) *kodok nei*            *meti*            *kara*    *na*    *kambrey*    *nei*  
 Kodok ne-i            ti-mati            kara    na    kambrei    ne-i  
 frog    PRX-SG            3SG-go.out      through    LOC    hole            PRX-SG  
  
*bu*    *mari...*  
 bu    ma=ri  
 DIR    hither-outside  
 ‘This frog came out from the hole...’ [frog\_story\_JEN]

The relational expression *ri* ‘outside’ may also describe the projected location in which the object will be directed to. In (54), Rudy is inside the house and he takes a machete and carries it outside the house. The motion toward the projected location is reflected by the motion verb *ko* ‘bring’.

- (54) *Rudy*    *kio*            *humbe*            *na*    *manu rarong*            *vanei*  
 Rudy    ti-ko            humbe            na    manu rarong            va-ne-i  
 Rudy    3SG-bring      machete            LOC    house    inside            NEU-PRX-SG  
  
*to*    *ri*  
 to    riti  
 to    outside  
 ‘Rudy brought the machete out from the house’

### 13.8.2.2. Relative and absolute frames of references

The Wooi people use the open sea and the land in absolute frames of reference to project the spatial orientation based on the mountain and coastline as abstract axes.



Map 13.2. Cenderawasih Bay and its surrounding area.

### Projecting direction between Wooi and other villages in Yapen Island

Projecting direction within the Island of Yapen that is in between Wooi and other villages in the island has one main frame of reference. Here, Wooi becomes the local deictic centre and Mangkaroway Mountain (the mountain ranges at the central of the island, ranging from east to west and divide Yapen Island into south-coast and the north-coast) becomes a reference point used to project a direction. The following are the projections:

- a. All villages to the south coast of Yapen Island, along with Wooi village is located, are considered to be villages 'close' to Wooi.

- b. All villages to the north coast of Yapen Island, which are located behind Mangkaroway Mountain range are considered to be villages ‘in the other side’ from Wooi.

For (a), there is no particular deictic expression that is used to indicate the location or distance of those villages located in the south coast of Yapen Island from Wooi.

- (55) *Hinyontaray pai ria na o: Harui/Wonyiapi/Asua ma*  
 hinyontarai pa-i ti-ra na o Harui/Wonyiapi/Asua ma  
 Person DIST-SG 3SG-go LOC FILL Serui/Woinap/Ansus hither  
 ‘It is the person who came from Serui/Woinap/Ansus/Marau’

For (b), the deictic adverb *varuy* ‘other side’ is used to express the orientation toward villages such as Pom, Serewen, and Munggui (see map 1.2 in §1.2) which are located in the north coast of Yapen Island.

- (56) *Henda na o: Pomi/Serewen ma varuy*  
 he-ra na o Pom=i/Serewen ma varuy  
 3PL-go LOC FILL Pom=SG/Serewen hither other-side  
 ‘They came from Pom/Serewen (in the other side of the Island).’

Both (55) and (56), cannot be projected by using *raw* ‘sea’ or *rey* ‘land’ as Wooi are still in the same island. Either, having deictics for (55) or deleting *varuy* ‘other side’ from (56) are unacceptable.

### Projecting orientation in Cenderawasih Bay and surrounding areas

For broader orientation to the Cenderawasih Bay area, Yapen Island is the local deictic centre to direct the spatial orientation toward the open sea, i.e. Pacific Ocean to the north and the sea of Cenderawasih to the south. Any location beyond the open sea is projected as *raw* ‘sea’ and Wooi/Yapen is projected as *rey* ‘land.’

- (57) *Kendi ne hia mara henda na o:*  
 kendi ne hia mara he-t-ra na o  
 Kendi PRX[NSG] 3PL that 3PL-PL-go LOC INTJ
- nu Bia rawti ma rey*  
 nu Bia rau=i ma rei  
 island Biak sea=SG hither land  
 ‘The Kendi clan came from the island of Biak...’ [MARGA\_Kendi1\_JEN]

In (57), the island of Biak is located toward the Pacific Ocean (see Map 13.2) so it has to be modified by *raw* ‘sea’ projecting the island from Wooi village. It is ungrammatical to have the preposition phrase without the spatial reference term *raw* ‘sea’, as in (58).

- (58) \**Kendi*        *ne*                *hia*    *mara*    *henda*        *na*    *o:*  
 kendi            ne                hia    mara    he-t-ra        na    o  
 Kendi            PRX[NSG]      3PL    that    3PL-PL-go    LOC   INTJ
- nu*    ***Bia***    *ma*    *rey*  
 nu    Bia    ma    rei  
 island Biak    hither    land  
 ‘The Kendi clan came from the island of Biak...’

If the Wooi people are on Biak Island, which is located to the north of Yapen Island and project the direction to Wooi village on Yapen Island, they view the projected location as being landward (as Yapen Island is local centre). Thus, they use the reference term *rey* ‘land’ as in (59).

- (59) *ne*                *pandu* *Wooi Rawing* *vo*                *na*    *nu*    *Yapeni*  
 ne                pandu Wooi Rawing vo                na    nu    Yapen=i  
 POSS[1SG.PSR] village Wooi                FOC.NOM    LOC    Island    Yapen=SG
- rey***                *vaw*  
 rei                vau  
 landward        NEU[NSG]  
 ‘My village of Wooi is on the Yapen island’

Any places beyond the sea of Cenderawasih Bay in the mainland of New Guinea, such as *Woropang* ‘Waropen’ in the east side of Cenderawasih Bay, *Nabirei* ‘Nabire’ to the south of the bay, *Wondamang* ‘ in the south-west side of the Cenderawasih Bay, Numfor Island and Miosnum Island to the northwest of the Cenderawasih Bay are projected as *raw* ‘seaward’. In (60), the speaker is in Wooi and tells the story about the first arrival of Horota clan in Wooi. He projects the location where the Horota clan came from Wondama Bay in the southwest coast of Cenderawasih Bay.

(60) *Horota ne hia mara henda na o: hiha*  
 Horota ne hia mara he-t-ra na o hiha  
 Horota PRX[NSG] 3PL that 3PL-go LOC INTJ mainland

*Wondamang raw to Wooi Rawing ma rey*  
 Wondamong rau to Wooi Rawing ma rei  
 Wandamen seaward to Wooi.Rawing hither landward  
 ‘The people of Horota clan came from the mainland of Wandamen to Wooi’  
 [MARGA\_Horota1\_JEN]

In (61), the speaker is in Wooi and tells the hearer that his father and associates are going to Miosnum Island, which is a separate island to the west of Yapen. Thus, the projection of being *raw* ‘seaward’ is used, as in (61).

(61) *Amai hembo Ninoing randaw*  
 Amai he-t-vo Ninoing ra=raw  
 [1SG]father 3PL-PL-paddle.canoe Miosnum thither=sea  
 ‘My father and associates are going (by canoing) to Miosnum.’

In contrast, when the speaker is in *Ninoing* ‘Miosnum’, he/she refers Wooi in the Yapen as *rey* ‘landward’ as in (62).

(62) *Henda Wooi Rawing randey*  
 he-t-ra Wooi Rawing ra=rey  
 3PL-PL-go Wooi thither=land  
 ‘They are going to Wooi.’

### Projecting orientation to other places outside the Cenderawasih Bay area

Other places in West Papua which are distant from Cenderawasih Bay are encoded with neutral orientation, using the neutral deictic *vane*, as in (63). Other deictic forms are not acceptable in this orientation.

(63) *Yo ra Merauke/Fak-fak/Manokwari rambane*  
 y-o ra Merauke/Fak-fak/Manokwari ra=va-ne  
 1SG-want [1SG]go Merauke/Fak-fak/Manokwari thither=NEU-PRX[NSG]  
 ‘I want to go to Merauke/Wamena/Fak-fak/Manokwari.’

Although Manokwari is close to Cenderawasih Bay, it is not considered as a part of Cenderawasih Bay frame of reference. Thus, it is considered to be other places as Merauke, Wamena and Fak-fak, which are far away from Cenderawasih Bay.

Other places outside of Cenderawasih Bay to the west, especially in the north coast of West Papua are referred to with different orientations. Places to the far west, such as Sausapor and Sorong in the north coast of Bird's Head of New Guinea are referred to as *riti* (or *ri*) 'outside' places, as in (64).

- (64) *Wermong ne hnia vo henda na pei*  
 Wermong ne hia vo he-t-ra na pe-i  
 Werimon PRX[NSG] 3PL FOC 3PL-PL-go LOC UP-SG
- no: a: hiha Sorong riti ma*  
 o a hiha Sorong riti ma  
 FILL FILL mainland Sorong outside hither  
 'Werimon clan came from Sorong (to the north of Bird's Head)'  
 [MARGA\_Werimon1\_JEN]

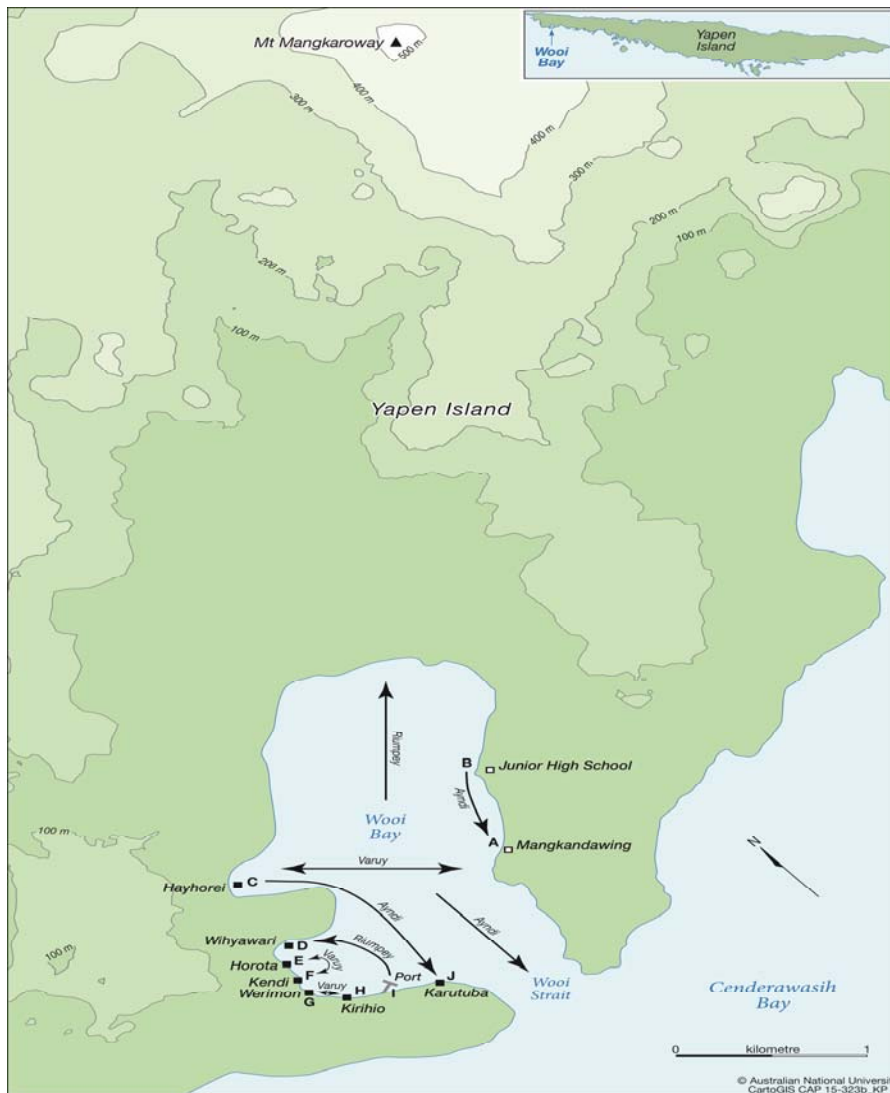
Places outside of Cenderawasih Bay heading far east of the mainland New Guinea such as Sarmi and Jayapura, are referred to as places upward. Thus, the upward deictic *pei* is used as in (65).

- (65) *Agus hia henda Jayapura rampei*  
 Agus hia he-t-ra Jayapura ra=pe-i  
 Agus 3PL 3PL-go Jayapura thither=UP-SG  
 'Agus and associates are going up to Jayapura'

### Projecting orientation within Wooi Bay based on its topography

Topographic of Wooi Bay in which the mountainous area to the north and the sea to south becomes another relative frame of reference used by the speakers of Wooi to express spatial orientation. The topographical landmark has been discussed in §13.8.1. This topographical feature produces a three-way system of spatial orientation, i.e. *riumpei* 'upward', denoting the orientation of 'inside' the bay toward the mountain where all the streams come from; *ayndi* 'downwards, which denotes the orientation towards the mouth of the bay'; and *varuy* 'other side' that denotes location on the both east and west sides of the bay or closest neighbouring clan's houses (see Map 13.3).





Map 13.3. Projecting orientation in Wooi Bay.

Examples (66-68) show different directions within Wooi Bay by using topographical orientation of the bay.

(66) *Efi hia hena na Hayhorey riumpey*  
 Efi hia he-t-na na Haihorei riung=pe-i  
 Efi 3PL 3PL-PL-live LOC Hayhorey above=UP-SG  
 ‘Efi and the family live in Hayhorey’ (located deep inside the bay)

(67) *Ramiena mara yo ra ayndi*  
 ramiena mara y-o ra ayndi  
 this.afternoon that 1SG-want [1SG]go downward  
 ‘This afternoon, I want to go downwards.’ (projected from places inside the bay towards places close to the mouth of the bay).

In (66), the speaker projects the orientation from somewhere near the mouth of the bay toward Hayhorey village located far inside the bay. In (67), the speaker projects the

orientation from Hayhorey village or Wihyawari toward some places near the mouth of the bay.

When projecting an orientation from Werimon clan settlement which is located to the west of the bay to Mangkandawing village to the east side of the bay, *varuy* ‘other side’ is used, as in (68).

- (68) *Ramdempe Epi ria Mangkandawing ra varuy*  
 ramdempe Epi ti-ra Mangkandawing ra varuy  
 yesterday Epi 3SG-go Mangkandawing thither other.side  
 ‘Yesterday, Epi went to Mangkandawing village on the other side of the bay.’

### 13.8.3. Motion Types

#### 13.8.3.1. Motion verbs

Verbs such as *go, throw, climb, run, bring, see, and look* can take the directional spatial morphemes *ma* ‘hither’ and *ra* ‘thither’ in order to show the motion toward a certain projected direction. Semantically, the deictic morpheme *ma* ‘hither’ is used to express the direction toward someone/speaker; while the deictic morpheme *ra* ‘thither’ is used to indicate the direction away from someone/speaker.

Syntactically, they are post-clausal particles which mark the motion as a part of the whole proposition as in (69) and (70). In (69), the speaker is in Wooi and told a story about their ancestor who was captured as a slave in the Wermon village in the Bird’s Head of New Guinea and was brought to Rumberpon Island, near Wooi so the speaker projected the direction toward him by using *ma* ‘hither’. In (70), the speaker projected the direction away from him toward the direction of the Kamtava Mount so the speaker used *ra* ‘thither’.

- (69) *Hengkori*                    *hembo*                    *ma*                    *hembesampe*  
 He-t-ko=i                    he-t-vo                    ma                    he-t-ve-sampe  
 3PL-PL-bring=3SG                    3PL-PL-paddle                    hither                    3PL-PL-VBLZ-reach
- hembo*                    *ma*                    *hemahi*                    *a:*                    *nu*                    *ve*                    *hano*                    *Rumberpon*  
 he-t-vo                    ma                    he-t-mahi                    a                    nu                    ve                    hano                    Rumberpon  
 3PL-PL-paddle                    hither                    3PL-PL-arrive                    FILL                    place                    REL                    name                    Rumberpon  
 ‘They brought him (Maisew) with a canoe toward here, they paddled and they arrived at the place name Rumberpon...’ [MARGA\_Werimon1\_JEN 017-019]
- (70) *Hetow*                    *ra*                    *hena*                    *na*                    *Kamtabari*                    *wi*                    *vanei*  
 he-t-ou                    ra                    he-t-na                    na                    Kamtabari                    wi                    va-ne-i  
 3PL-PL-climb                    thither                    3PL-PL-stay                    LOC                    Kamtava=i                    mount                    NEU-PRX-SG  
 ‘They climbed up and stayed on the Kamtava Mount there’ [MARGA\_Kendi1\_JEN 178-179]

### 13.8.3.2. Directional prepositions

From a semantic point of view, directional prepositions indicate a change in location of an object. That is, dynamic motion from one location to another. Motion of an object is denoted by a motion verb, such as go, walk, move, carry, etc., and is modified by a preposition in order to direct the motion such as to, from, toward, away from, etc. In Woi, directional prepositions differ not only in their semantics, but also in mood. In (71) and (72), the directional prepositions *to* ‘to’ and *ho* ‘to’ are locative directional prepositions. Syntactically, they form a prepositional phrase in which the object of prepositional phrase is a locative NP. However, they are contrastive in use as *to* ‘to’ carries the aspectual meaning of irrealis – unfulfilled action. Thus, the meaning of (71) is that I know the way to Ansus, but I haven’t gone there.

- (71) *Vetau*                    *ravaveria*                    *tanda*                    *to*                    *Asua*  
 ve-tau                    ravaveria                    ta-t-ra                    to                    Agus  
 [1SG]VBLZ-know journey                    1PL.INC-go                    to.IRR                    Ansus
- vane*  
 va-ne  
 NEU-PRX[NSG]  
 ‘I know the way to go to Ansus.’

In contrast, the preposition *ho* ‘to’ carries the aspectual meaning of realis – fulfilled action. Thus, the meaning of (72) is that the action of going to Manokwari has been fulfilled.

(72) *Taraho*            *arari* *apui*                            *hampompe*    *vio*            *ra*  
 tara-ho            arari    apui                            hampompe    ti-vo            ra  
 [1SG]ear-HO    story    [1SG]grandfather-SG    in.the.past    3SG-paddle    go

***ho***        ***Mnukwar***    *pa*  
 ho        Mnukwar    pa  
 to.REAL Manokwari    DIST[NSG]  
 ‘I heard the story about my grandfather who went [by paddling a canoe] to Manokwari’

The preposition *to* ‘to.IRR’ in (71) cannot be used in the context in (72) and vice versa because of the aspectual difference.

There are directional prepositions that must be in combination with some verbs to show a dynamic change of location to or towards someone/something/place. In (73), the directional changing described is of an action in which a sight moves from one location toward a projected object and is marked by the directional preposition *bu* ‘toward’ and in (74), the directional changing occurs in which a thing is transferred from someone to another person in the discourse is marked by the preposition *kong* ‘from’.

(73) *Hiuntaray*    *ce*                            *heyo*            ***bu***    *bunga* *ce*  
 hinyontarai    ti-tera                            ti-hayo            bu    bunga    ti-tera  
 person        3Sg-stand                            3SG-watch            toward    flower    3SG-stand

*riu*                            *ay*    *na*    *vara*    *cobatang*  
 ti-ru                            ai    na    vara    cobatang  
 3SG-hold                            wood    LOC    hand    right

‘(that) person stood and watched toward the flower and he held a piece of wood on the right hand.’ [space\_game2\_Heri\_JE 057-059]

(74) *Imbe*            *tatariu*            *ve*    *vihiang*            *kong* *no*  
 imbe            ta-t-ariu            ve    vihieng            kong    o  
 probably 1PL.INC-PL-get            REL    good            from    FILL

*Mamara*            *peiti...*

Mamarang            pei=i  
 Almighty            UP-SG

‘Probably we get a blessing from the Almighty God above...’

[MARGA\_Kendi1\_JEN]

Another preposition that has a ‘transfer’ meaning is *ve* ‘for’. It, however, carries two meanings, i.e. transfer of an object and possession. When a sentence has the preposition, the meaning is that an object is transferred from one person to another whether in order for permanent possession or just to pass on to the receiver, as in (75).

(75) *Jon*            *hetong*            *wona* *nei*            *ve*    *ya*  
 Jon            he-t-ong            wona    ne-i            ve    ya  
 John            3PL-PL-give            dog    PRX-SG            for    1SG

‘i. John and associates gave this dog to me for me to possess’

‘ii. John and associates gave this dog to me, just to take care of it for a moment’

## Chapter 14 – Summary

This chapter not only gives a summary of a grammatical description of Wooi, but also draws particular attention to some grammatical properties in Wooi that are interesting for further analysis from a typological-areal perspective of the Austronesian languages in eastern Indonesia, particularly in the group of the Cenderawasih Bay.

In general, Wooi is a typical Austronesian language of the South Halmahera-West New Guinea group, as most of the main grammatical features resemble those of other languages in the group, such as Taba (Bowden 2001), Biak (Mofu 2005 and 2008, van den Heuvel 2006), Ambai (Silzer 1983, Karubaba 2008), and Wandamen/Wamesa (Gasser 2014). Among the points to be further detailed below are the salient features of Wooi in relation to its phonology, morpho-phonology, inflectional and derivational morphology, word order and basic clause structure, number system, and deixis and spatial orientation. Some of the features are common in the area but others, for instance, number features and deictics, are unique to Wooi. The discussion is organized following the order of the chapters in the thesis.

Phonologically, Wooi has 5 vowels, 13 diphthongs and 16 consonants, which is typical of Central-Eastern Malayo-Polynesian (CEMP) languages. The segment inventory of Wooi shows about the average number of segments for other inventories in Austronesian languages, especially the languages of South Halmahera-West New Guinea, with up to four nasals matching the series of voiced and voiceless stops, and all found at the bilabial, alveolar, palatal and velar and just a few fricatives found in the bilabial, alveolar and velar places of articulation (Himmelman 2005: 116). For instance, Taba (Bowden 2001: 26) has seven stop sounds in bilabial, apico-alveolar and dorso-velar

positions with voice contrast; and one glottal stop sound, three nasals, two affricates, two fricatives, one trill and one lateral and three approximants. Biak (van den Heuvel 2006: 21), however, has five stop sounds, with a voice contrast in bilabial and alveolar, two nasals, three fricatives, one lateral and one trill and two approximants. Both Taba and Biak also have five basic vowels. Wooi's syllable structure also reflects the syllable structure of (C)V(C) (see Himmelmann 2005). Stress patterns in Wooi are typically penultimate although in some cases there is final-syllabic stress. These stress patterns also reflect the stress patterns of Austronesian languages (see Himmelmann 2005: 117).

Morphophonology is quite complex in Wooi, especially in nominal and verbal morphology. Several phonological processes occur such as vowel merger, vowel deletion, vowel retention, consonant insertion, palatalization, nasal assimilation, fortition, lenition and metathesis. Such processes are also common in other Austronesian languages (see Blust 1993, Klamer 2002b, and Himmelmann 2005). Metathesis, for example, occurs extensively in Eastern Indonesia languages such as Leti, Meto (Dawanese), Biak, Taba, Buru, Tagalog, Botok and Atayal (Himmelmann 2005). Unlike in Leti (Hume 1997), where metathesis occurs within lexical words and is phonologically motivated, metathesis in Wooi and other Austronesian languages of Cenderawasih Bay appears to be like that in Uab Meto (Edwards, in progress) in that it is also morphologically motivated. Metathesis in Wooi occurs in verbal morphology in which the prefixed-second and -third person markings attach to the verb of consonant-initial stem (see §6.3.2) and undergo infixation through metathesis. Languages such as Biak (Heuvel 2006), Wandamen (Gasser 2014) and Ambai (Silzer 1983) show the same metathesis process.

Metathesis co-occurs with other processes, which then determine the morphological realization of a verbal affix. The following is one example where metathesis and consonant deletion co-occur:

(1)	Underlying Form:	ti- ‘3SG’ + -ra ‘walk’
	Metathesis:	r<ti>a
	C-deletion:	t>∅
	Surface Form:	ria ‘3SG.walk’

As seen in (1), the formation of the verb *ria* ‘3SG walk’ involves the affixation of the third person subject to the verb *ra* ‘walk’, which must undergo metathesis and consonant deletion.

While there is some complexity in morphophonology, Wooi is essentially an agglutinative language in which the morpheme is easily segmentable and predictable, as in other Austronesian languages of the area. The morphology includes inflectional and derivational processes. Inflectional morphology is found with nouns, verbs, deictics, demonstratives, question words, and copulas. Mostly the morphology relates to person and number features. On nouns, the morphology shows person and number marking of the possessor and the possessee. On lexical and copula verbs, the morphology shows subject agreement in person and number features. On demonstratives, deictics, and question words, it shows number agreement. Derivational morphology only occurs on some derived verbs: verbalized words with *ve-* ‘VBLZ’ and verbs with possessive morphology. Similar cases showing verbs with possessive morphology are also found in other Austronesian languages of South Halmahera-West New Guinea such as Biak (Heuvel 2006, Mofu 2008) and even in Oceanic languages such as in North West Solomonic languages (Palmer 2003, 2011).

At the clausal level, Wooi has SVO word order in the basic clause structure. The basic/core clause structure exhibits the principles of rigidity and tightness of the argument-predicate relation. Rigidity gives rise to the fixed word order property in Wooi, where re-ordering of word order is not permitted in the core clause structure. Morphosyntactic tightness of arguments dictates that the subject is morphologically



integrated (i.e. prefixed) to the verb whereas other arguments, the object and oblique, are not. The object is closer and more tightly bound to the verb than oblique. Thus, argument realization in relation to the principles of rigidity and tightness in Woi is appears to follow the known hierarchy of SUBJ > OBJ > OBL > ADJ in that subject is the top element in the hierarchy and is the only unit highly integrated into the morphology of the verb (i.e. marked morphologically on the verb showing verbal agreement).

In addition, particular classes of grammatical relations correlate with particular constituent categories in Woi: NPs for core arguments of SUBJ/OBJ and PPs for obliques. We can therefore say that this pattern shows markedness of free syntactic dependents in Woi: NPs (core arguments, unmarked) > PP (non-core arguments, marked). However, applicativization requires an absence of P in the PP instrument when the instrument is undergoing an applicative construction (see §9.5.1). This confirms the well-known property of applicativisation as a valence-increasing operation where the applied argument is promoted to core status.

Woi does not show voice alternation as encountered in the Indonesian or Philippine-type Austronesian languages, whereby an argument is selected as a privileged function (called Pivot or Topic, Himmelmann 2005: 166, Arka 2002) for syntactic and pragmatic reasons. The absence of an Austronesian voice system is also a feature of other Cenderawasih Bay languages such as Biak (Heuvel 2006, Mofu 2008) and Ambai (Silzer 1983, Karubaba 2008). However, it is observed that there are few verbs in Woi and also in Biak (Heuvel 2006: 172) that may have passive meaning such as *merarapa* ‘She/he got hit’ in Woi (see §9.5.2). This process is not productive and cannot be analyzed as a passive voice, e.g. in the sense of the passive *di-* in Indonesian (Arka 2002).

In the absence of a voice system, prominent semantic-pragmatic forces are accommodated through applicative, focus and topic constructions which make use of an extended clause structure. Applicativization in Woi is also a morpho-syntactic strategy

to bring a non-argument, e.g. the instrument, to the clause-initial position. It is also true for the focussed or topicalised unit in which an argument or a non-argument is placed at the clause-initial position. The clause-initial position is required for a pragmatically prominent unit (argument or non-argument) to bear focus and topic. However, the appearance of an argument in this position, except in the case of applicativisation, does not affect the argument structure within the basic clause: the fronted argument maintains its syntactic function by means of a pronominal copy appearing in its position in the core clause structure.

Wooi shows different clausal word order in verbal and nominal predicates: verbal predicates show SVO order, where the object complement comes post-verbally, while nominal predicates show SUBJ-NOUN-COP; i.e. the nominal complement comes before the verbal copula. The different word orders of verbal and nominal predicates are an areal feature, with Biak (Heuvel 2006, Mofu 2008) and Ambai (Silzer 1983) also showing the same phenomenon.

Wooi exhibits a complex number system with intriguing morphosyntactic and semantic properties. Number marking is found in various word classes: nouns, verbs, demonstrative modifiers, demonstrative pronouns, pronouns, copulas, question words, existentials, and focus particles (see chapters 3–7 and chapters 12–13). It is also used to subcategorise noun and verb classes into different subclasses, i.e. for nouns: demonstrative modifiers, demonstrative pronouns, question words; and for verbs: copulas, action verbs, derived verbs (see chapter 3). While overall Wooi has a three-way number system (singular vs. dual vs. plural), specific marking can show a two-way distinction between singular vs. non-singular; e.g. in the direct possessive construction, the dual and plural are marked the same for the possessed noun and in free pronouns, the stem for dual and plural are identical and they differ in number suffixes. This kind of number marking is not exclusive to Wooi as it is also encountered in languages of the

Biakic group, such as Biak and Dusner (see Heuvel 2006, Dalrymple and Mofu 2013) and the Western Yapen branch of Cenderawasih Bay languages, such as Wandamen/Wamesa (Gasser 2014), Ambai (Silzer 1983, Anceaux, 1961). Further, Wooi, as well as other Cenderawasih Bay languages, such as Biak (Dalrymple and Mofu 2013), and Ambai (Silzer 1983), violates Greenberg's universal in that singular is more marked than plural (non-singular). Wooi shows this in the two-way number marking (singular *-i* vs. unmarked non-singular), and also in the morphological structure of number marking in the three-way system. The combination of three-way marking (singular-dual-plural) and two-way marking (singular *-i* vs. unmarked non-singular) is identified.

Viewed from the animacy hierarchy of 1 > 2 > 3 > kin > human > animate > inanimate (Corbett 2000, following Smith-Stark 1974), the patterns in the Wooi number system can be described as follows:

a. Number marking distinctions and the animacy hierarchy.

Nominals higher in the hierarchy receive more fine-grained number marking distinctions:

**three-way marking:** personal pronouns (free and bound)/kin

terms/body parts >

**two-way marking:** demonstrative modifiers/demonstrative

pronouns/question words/focus particles/existentials >

**one-way marking:** proper names >

**no marking:** common nouns.

From the perspective of morphological marking, it is expected that direct marking (affixation) of nouns or pronouns for the overall number system occurs for the items higher in the hierarchy (Corbett 2000: 75). Other uses of number words (markings), which are at phrasal or clausal level are found lower in the hierarchy. Specifically, no marking at the lowest level of the hierarchy explains why common nouns have

general number (no overt number marking). Thus, the number system in Wooi patterns with Corbett’s predictions.

- b. While the singular, dual and plural in free pronouns in Wooi are all clearly distinguished, the three-way number distinction of these free pronouns shows intriguing internal marking patterns: the stem appears to be against Greenberg’s universal whereas the suffixal marking respects it. Consider the free pronouns in Table 14.1 below:

Pattern 1: The stems show singular vs. non-singular distinction in which singular is more marked or specific than non-singular; that is, the same stem forms e.g. *a-* and *ta-* are used for dual and plural. These stems are therefore underspecified stems. In short, as far as the pronominal stems and number feature are concerned, non-singular is less specific or less marked than singular, contrary to Greenberg’s universal.

Table 14.1. Free personal pronouns in Wooi

Person/number	SG	DU	PL
1EXC	<i>ya</i>	<i>a-ru</i>	<i>a-ma</i>
1INC		<i>ta-ru</i>	<i>ta-ta</i>
2	<i>aw</i>	<i>ma-ru</i>	<i>m-ia</i>
3	<i>i</i>	<i>ha-ru</i>	<i>h-ia</i>

Pattern 2: In terms of the person feature, the first person (dual and plural) category shows variant stems encoding an exclusive vs. inclusive distinction: *a-* vs. *ta-*. The second and third person non-singular counterparts have invariant stems *ma-* and *ha-*. Thus, the pattern of the pronominal stems respects the animacy hierarchy, as expected. However, if we just compare the stem forms for the first person category only, in some respects, Greenberg’s universal is respected in Wooi because the non-singular shows a fine-grained distinction of stems. At least we can say that singular, dual and plural have equally specific stems; i.e. *a-* ‘(non-singular) exclusive’ in the same way as *ya-* ‘singular exclusive’.

Pattern 3. In terms of affixal number marking, the pronominal forms in Table 14-1 show the following pattern:

SG	DU	/PL
-∅	-ru	-ma/-ta

It is clear that this marking pattern in pronominal forms respects Greenberg's universal as singular is unmarked and plural is marked. It should be noted that plural appears to be marked the most, but this happens in the first person category where the marker *-ma* is a portmanteau morpheme (i.e. carrying both number and clusivity features).

Deictics and other spatial orientation terms are morphologically and semantically complex in Woori grammar, and are significant to Woori speakers for understanding the structure of discourse, in which deictics and spatial orientation terms direct the projection of speaker-hearer and other participants involved in a discourse. Deictics belong to three different word classes representing three deictic systems in Woori: nominal locative deictics, demonstrative modifiers and demonstrative pronouns. The three systems vary in distance orientation. The nominal locative deictic has a three-way distinction: proximate, distal 1 and distal 2. The demonstrative modifiers and demonstrative pronouns have a four-way distinction: proximate, neutral, distal 1 and distal 2. Demonstrative modifiers show another two-way system referring to vertical-horizontal orientation. Deictics are compositional, morphologically based on stems of different word classes. Demonstrative modifiers are composed of deictics and formatives with number features showing a singular/non-singular distinction. Demonstrative pronouns are morphologically composed of locative nominal deictics, deictics and formatives with number features showing singular/non-singular distinction. The morphological formation of deictics must respect semantic compatibility, e.g. in terms of semantic distance orientation. Thus, only

proximate forms of locative nominal deictic can attach to the proximate demonstrative modifier. The syntactic distribution of deictics of all kinds varies although they still function to project location.

As stated by Tenbrink (2007:13), deictics are capable of projecting locative reference and also temporal reference, in which “time is measured by means of space”. In Wooi different locative projections refer to particular temporal reference: proximate refers to today-time reference, distal refers to past-time reference, upward deictic refers to future-time reference.

Spatial orientation reflects the cognitive way of projecting direction of Wooi people, representing the way Wooi people understand their geographical and topographical environment of Wooi Bay, in particular, but also the broader context of New Guinea as a whole. The frames of reference are built based on a sea-land frame of reference and mountain-coast (uphill-downhill) frame of reference. These types of frames of reference are common among Austronesian languages (see Li 2005, Blust 1997, Adelaar 1997, Hill 1997 and Hyslop 2002). These frames of reference are angular, meaning that the projection relatively depends on the human as an ego-centric and Wooi village as a local centric. Biak (Heuvel 2006: 327) shows the same deictics and spatial system. In terms of the deictic system, Biak also shows morphologically complex deictics with a three-way distinction: this (proximate), that (distal 1) and that over there (distal 2). In terms of spatial orientation, Biak also uses land-sea as an absolute frame of reference to project orientation. It also has upstream-downstream orientation that might be equivalent to Wooi’s topographical orientation within Wooi Bay: upward-downward. A deictic system with a three-way distinction and vertical-horizontal distinction are also found in Balantak, an Austronesian language of the Saluan subgroup (Eastern group) of Central Sulawesi (Busenitz and Busenitz, 1992).

Wooi exhibits certain grammatical features of the Austronesian languages of the South Halmahera-West New Guinea group. These are reflected in its phonology, morpho-phonology, word order and basic clause structure. Some other features such as number system and spatial system are language specific.

The whole description of Wooi grammar as outlined in this thesis is the first full description of this language. It covers all domains of the grammar: phonetics and phonology, morphology, word structures and classes, phrase structures, clause and sentence structures, complex constructions and pragmatic structures. Also, in a broader context, it provides a grammatical description, together with other already-described languages of Austronesian of West Papua, to enrich the body of linguistic literature on the languages of West Papua for future research. This description hopefully makes a contribution to Austronesian linguistics, together with the existing descriptions of other Austronesian languages of West Papua, enriching the body of linguistic literature on the languages of West Papua for future research. There are around 28 Austronesian languages in the vicinity (Kamholz 2014: 18); many of them still are undocumented. Further studies of these Austronesian languages are needed in order to see how common grammatical features found in Wooi are in comparison with other languages within the Cenderawasih Bay and even beyond to other Austronesian language groups.

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## Appendices: Texts

### TEXT 1: HISTORY OF CLANS IN WOUI

\id MARGA\_exp 001

\tx sip

\id MARGA\_exp 002

\tx <xx> cerita tentang

\ft story about

\id MARGA\_exp 003

\tx marga yang ada di kampung Wooi

\ft the clans which are in Wooi village

\id MARGA\_exp 004

\tx dengan dong pu pimpinan marga

\ft with the leaders of the clans

\id MARGA\_exp 005

\tx ya payna

\mb ya paina

\ge yes so

\gn ya jadi

\ftn ya, jadi

\ft yes, so

\id MARGA\_exp 006

\tx marga veve o:

\mb marga ve o:

\ge clan REL FILL

\gn marga REL FILL

\ftn marga yang

\ft the clans that

\id MARGA\_exp 007

\tx pampong to rawing nei ma mara

\mb pampong to rawing ne-i ma mara

\ge first DIR bay PRX-SG hither that

\gn pertama DIR teluk PRX-SG hither itu

\ftn datang pertama ke teluk ini yaitu

\ft came earlier to this bay is

\id MARGA\_exp 008

\tx Wihyawar vaw hnia

\mb Wihyawari vaw hnia

\ge PN NEU[NSG] 3PL

\gn PN NEU[NSG] 3PL

\ftn Wihywari mereka

\ft the Wihyawari people

\id MARGA\_exp 009

\tx Wihyawar vaw hnia  
\mb Wihyawari vaw hnia  
\ge PN NEU[NSG] 3PL  
\gn PN NEU[NSG] 3PL  
\ftn Wihyawari mereka  
\ft the Wihyawari people

\id MARGA\_exp 010

\tx hena na o: nu nei  
\mb he-t- na na o: nu ne-i  
\ge 3PL-PL- stay LOC FILL place PRX-SG  
\gn 3PL-PL- tinggal LOC FILL tempat PRX-SG  
\ftn mereka tinggal di tempat ini  
\ft they lived at this place

\id MARGA\_exp 011

\tx <xx> hnia hena rawing nei pampong  
\mb hnia he-t- na rawing ne-i pampong  
\ge 3PL 3PL-PL- stay bay PRX-SG first  
\gn 3PL 3PL-PL- tinggal teluk PRX-SG pertama

\tx pa  
\mb pa  
\ge FOC  
\gn FOC  
\ftn <xx> mereka yang pertama tinggal di teluk ini  
\ft <xx> they are the ones who lived here first

\id MARGA\_exp 012

\tx trus yo marga ve vatuva reang mara  
\mb terus o: marga ve vatuva rea mara  
\ge then FILL clan REL come.after again that  
\gn terus FILL marga REL menyusul lagi itu  
\ftn terus marga yang menyusul lagi (adalah)  
\ft then the clan that came next

\id MARGA\_exp 013

\tx marga  
\mb marga  
\ge clan  
\gn marga  
\ft the clan

\id MARGA\_exp 014

\tx veve koru mara  
\mb ve koru mara  
\ge REL two that  
\gn REL dua itu  
\ftn yang kedua yaitu  
\ft the second one was



\id MARGA\_exp 015

\tx marga o: Kendi ne hnia  
\mb marga o: Kendi ne hnia  
\ge clan FILL Kendi PRX[NSG] 3PL  
\gn marga FILL Kendi PRX[NSG] 3PL  
\ftn marga Kendi mereka  
\ft t the Kendi clan

\id MARGA\_exp 016

\tx Kendi ne hnia mara henda na o:  
\mb Kendi ne hnia mara he-t- ra na o:  
\ge Kendi PRX[NSG] 3PL that 3PL-PL- go LOC FILL  
\gn Kendi PRX[NSG] 3PL itu 3PL-PL- pergi LOC FILL  
\ftn Kendi mereka asalnya dari  
\ft The Kendi clan came here from

\id MARGA\_exp 017

\tx nu Bia <ret> raw ti ma rey  
\mb nu Biak raw ti ma rey  
\ge place PIN sea FOC.SG hither land  
\gn tempat PIN laut FOC.SG hither darat  
\ftn Biak, di laut sana ke darat sini  
\ft Biak, located seaward, came landward here

\id MARGA\_exp 018

\tx marga veve  
\mb marga ve  
\ge clan REL  
\gn marga REL  
\ftn marga yang ke  
\ft the clan that

\id MARGA\_exp 019

\tx toru  
\mb toru  
\ge three  
\gn tiga  
\ftn tiga  
\ft (came) third

\id MARGA\_exp 020

\tx mara marga o:  
\mb mara marga o:  
\ge that clan FILL  
\gn itu marga FILL  
\ftn itu marga  
\ft was the clan

\id MARGA\_exp 021

\tx Horota ne hnia  
\mb Horota ne hnia  
\ge Horota PRX[NSG] 3PL  
\gn Horota PRX[NSG] 3PL  
\ftn Horota mereka  
\ft the Horota people

\id MARGA\_exp 022  
 \tx Horota ne hnia mara henda na o:  
 \mb Horota ne hnia mara he-t- ra na o:  
 \ge Horota PRX[NSG] 3PL that 3PL-PL- go LOC FILL  
 \gn Horota PRX[NSG] 3PL itu 3PL-PL- pergi LOC FILL  
 \ftn Horota, mereka itu datang (asal) dari  
 \ft the Horota clan came here from

\id MARGA\_exp 023  
 \tx hniha <Wonda-> Wondama  
 \mb hniha Wandamang  
 \ge mainland PIN  
 \gn tanah.besar PIN  
 \ftn tanah besar, Wandamen  
 \ft the mainland, Wandamen

\id MARGA\_exp 024  
 \tx teri marga veve o: ve muana mara  
 \mb interi marga ve o: ve muana mara  
 \ge then clan REL FILL REL four that  
 \gn terus marga REL FILL REL empat itu  
 \ftn kemudian marga yang keempat itu  
 \ft then the fourth clan was

\id MARGA\_exp 025  
 \tx <e: veve ding mara>

\id MARGA\_exp 026  
 \tx ya veve muana mara  
 \mb ya ve muana mara  
 \ge yes REL four that  
 \gn ya REL empat itu  
 \ftn ya, yang keempat itu  
 \ft yes, the fourth one was

\id MARGA\_exp 027  
 \tx a: Wermong ne hnia  
 \mb a: Werimon ne hnia  
 \ge INTJ PN PRX[NSG] 3PL  
 \gn INTJ PN PRX[NSG] 3PL  
 \ftn Werimon mereka  
 \ft the Werimon clan

\id MARGA\_exp 028  
 \tx Wermong ne hnia vo henda na  
 \mb Werimon ne hnia vo he-t- ra na  
 \ge PN PRX[NSG] 3PL FOC 3PL-PL- go LOC  
 \gn PN PRX[NSG] 3PL FOC 3PL-PL- pergi LOC  
  
 \tx pei no  
 \mb pe-i o:  
 \ge DET-SG FILL  
 \gn DET-SG FILL  
 \ftn Werimon, mereka datang (asal) dari  
 \ft the Werimon clan came here from

\id MARGA\_exp 029

\tx a:  
\mb a:  
\ge INTJ  
\gn INTJ

\id MARGA\_exp 030

\tx hniha  
\mb hniha  
\ge mainland  
\gn tanah.besar  
\ftn tanah besar  
\ft the mainland

\id MARGA\_exp 031

\tx Sorong riti ma  
\mb Sorong riti ma  
\ge PIN OUTSIDE hither  
\gn PIN LUAR hither  
\ftn di Sorong, di luar sana ke sini  
\ft Sorong, out there to here

\id MARGA\_exp 032

\tx henda ma o:  
\mb he-t- ra ma o:  
\ge 3PL-PL- go hither FILL  
\gn 3PL-PL- pergi hither FILL  
\ftn mereka datang  
\ft they came

\id MARGA\_exp 033

\tx hena payna ma henda <hen->  
\mb he-t- na paina mara he-t- ra  
\ge 3PL-PL- stay so.that until 3PL-PL- go  
\gn 3PL-PL- tinggal jadi sampai 3PL-PL- pergi

\tx henda kuyra ma mara hena kuyra  
\mb he-t- ra kikuira ma mara he-t- na kikuira  
\ge 3PL-PL- go together hither that 3PL-PL- stay together  
\gn 3PL-PL- pergi bersama hither itu 3PL-PL- tinggal bersama

\tx na pei no  
\mb na pe-i o:  
\ge LOC DET-SG FILL  
\gn LOC DET-SG FILL  
\ftn mereka datang bersama ke sini terus mereka tinggal bersama di  
\ft they came together to this (place and) stayed together at

\id MARGA\_exp 034

\tx wi Vavat  
\mb wi Vavati  
\ge mountain PN  
\gn gunung PN  
\ftn gunung Vavat  
\ft Mount Vavat

\id MARGA\_exp 035  
\tx hena kong no Wihyawar vat na  
\mb he-t- na kong o: Wihyawari va-i na  
\ge 3PL-PL- stay COM FILL PN NEU-SG LOC  
\gn 3PL-PL- tinggal COM FILL PN NEU-SG LOC

\tx vavaw  
\mb va-vaw  
\ge NEU-RED[NSG]  
\gn NEU-RED[NSG]  
\ftn mereka tinggal dengan seorang Wihyawari di situ  
\ft they stayed with one (member) of the Wihyawari (clan) there

\id MARGA\_exp 036  
\tx Kendi hena na havar wang  
\mb Kendi he-t- na na havaru wang  
\ge Kendi 3PL-PL- stay LOC next there  
\gn Kendi 3PL-PL- tinggal LOC sebelah there  
\ftn Kendi mereka tinggal di sebelah sana (gunung yang di sebelahnya)  
\ft the Kendis stayed over there (on the other side of the mountain)

\id MARGA\_exp 037  
\tx havar Maay vanei  
\mb havaru Maay va-ne-i  
\ge next PIN NEU-PRX-SG  
\gn sebelah PIN NEU-PRX-SG  
\ftn di sebelah Maay itu  
\ft at the side named Maay

\id MARGA\_exp 038  
\tx Horota hengkong Wermong hena na  
\mb Horota he-t- kong Werimon he-t- na na  
\ge PN 3PL-PL- COM PN 3PL-PL- stay LOC  
\gn PN 3PL-PL- COM PN 3PL-PL- tinggal LOC

\tx o:  
\mb o:  
\ge FILL  
\gn FILL  
\ftn Horota dengan Werimon mereka tinggal di  
\ft the clans Horota and Werimon stayed at

\id MARGA\_exp 039  
\tx vavaw marainteri  
\mb va-vaw mara-interi  
\ge NEU-RED[NSG] then-then  
\gn NEU-RED[NSG] terus-terus  
\ftn di situ kemudian  
\ft over there then

\id MARGA\_exp 040  
\tx a:  
\mb a:  
\ge INTJ  
\gn INTJ

\id MARGA\_exp 041

\tx henda ma henda kuyra to rawing nei  
\mb he-t- ra ma he- ra kikuyra to rawing ne-i  
\ge 3PL-PL-go hither 3PL- go together DIR bay PRX-SG  
\gn 3PL-PL-pergi hither 3PL- pergi bersama DIR teluk PRX-SG  
\ftn mereka datang bersama ke teluk ini  
\ft they came together to this bay

\id MARGA\_exp 042

\tx henda kuyra to rawing nei ma mara  
\mb he-t- ra kikuira to rawing ne-i ma mara  
\ge 3PL-PL- go together DIR bay PRX-SG hither then  
\gn 3PL-PL- pergi bersama DIR teluk PRX-SG hither then

\tx interi  
\mb interi  
\ge then  
\gn terus

\ftn mereka datang bersama ke teluk ini terus  
\ft they came together to this bay then

\id MARGA\_exp 043

\tx Kirihio ne hnia o: heton da tuva  
\mb Kirihio ne hnia o: he-t- ong ra tuva  
\ge Kirihio PRX[NSG] 3PL FILL 3PL-PL- also go go.after  
\gn Kirihio PRX[NSG] 3PL FILL 3PL-PL- juga pergi menyusul

\tx rema o:  
\mb rea=ma o:  
\ge again=hither FILL  
\gn lagi=hither FILL

\ftn (kemudian) Kirihio mereka menyusul lagi  
\ft (then) the Kirihio clan followed them here

\id MARGA\_exp 044

\tx te hena kuyra  
\mb interi he-t- na kikuira  
\ge then 3PL-PL- stay together  
\gn terus 3PL-PL- tinggal bersama  
\ftn terus mereka tinggal bersama  
\ft then they stayed together

\id MARGA\_exp 045

\tx hena kuyra  
\mb he-t- na kikuira  
\ge 3PL-PL- stay together  
\gn 3PL-PL- tinggal bersama  
\ftn mereka tinggal bersama  
\ft they stayed together

\id MARGA\_exp 046

\tx payna  
\mb paina  
\ge so  
\gn jadi  
\ftn jadi  
\ft so

\id MARGA\_exp 047

\tx parari marga veve o:  
\mb parari marga ve o:  
\ge be.like clan REL FILL  
\gn seperti marga REL FILL  
\ftn seperti marga yang  
\ft like the clans that

\id MARGA\_exp 048

\tx ve moma vaw hnia  
\mb ve moma vaw hnia  
\ge REL small NEU[NSG] 3PL  
\gn REL kecil NEU[NSG] 3PL  
\ftn kecil (jumlahnya sedikit)  
\ft are small

\id MARGA\_exp 049

\tx Kapitaraw ne hnia mara  
\mb Kapitaraw ne hnia mara  
\ge PN PRX[NSG] 3PL that  
\gn PN PRX[NSG] 3PL that  
\ftn (seperti) Kapitaraw  
\ft (like) the Kapitaraw clan

\id MARGA\_exp 050

\tx henda ma hena kong  
\mb he-t-ra ma he-t- na kong  
\ge 3PL-PL-go hither 3PL-PL- stay COM  
\gn 3PL-PL-pergi hither 3PL-PL- tinggal COM  
\ftn mereka datang dan tinggal dengan  
\ft they came (and) stayed with

\id MARGA\_exp 051

\tx hena na rawing nei ni mara  
\mb he-t- na na rawing ne-i ning mara  
\ge 3PL-PL- stay LOC bay PRX-SG here that  
\gn 3PL-PL- tinggal LOC teluk PRX-SG here that  
\ftn mereka tinggal di teluk ini  
\ft they stayed in this bay

\id MARGA\_exp 052

\tx hnia vo henda na Pom  
\mb hnia vo he-t- ra na Pom  
\ge 3PL FOC 3PL-PL- go LOC PIN  
\gn 3PL FOC 3PL-PL- pergi LOC PIN  
\ftn mereka berasal dari Pom  
\ft they came from Pom

\id MARGA\_exp 053  
 \tx mana karna  
 \mb mana karena  
 \ge but because  
 \gn tapi karena  
 \ftn karena  
 \ft because of

\id MARGA\_exp 054  
 \tx vaving Wihyawar vati ririaw na wampa  
 \mb vaving Wihyawari va-i ti-ririaw na wang-pa  
 \ge woman PN NEU-SG 3SG-marry LOC there-DIST[NSG]  
 \gn perempuan PN NEU-SG 3SG-kawin LOC there-DIST[NSG]  
 \ftn satu perempuan Wihyawari kawin di sana  
 \ft a Wihyawari woman married there

\id MARGA\_exp 055  
 \tx ririaw na Kapitaraw Pomi  
 \mb ti-ririaw na Kapitaraw Pomi  
 \ge 3SG-marry LOC PN Pom  
 \gn 3SG-kawin LOC PN Pom  
 \ftn dia kawin dengan seorang marga Kapitaraw dari kampung Pom  
 \ft she married to a Kapitaraw man from Pom

\id MARGA\_exp 056  
 \tx payna kio hnia ma hena rao  
 \mb paina ti-ko hnia ma he-t- na rao  
 \ge so 3SG-carry 3PL hither 3PL-PL- stay until  
 \gn jadi 3SG-bawa 3PL hither 3PL-PL- tinggal sampai  
 \ftn jadi dia bawa mereka datang (ke sini), mereka tinggal sampai  
 \ft so she took them here and stayed here until

\id MARGA\_exp 057  
 \tx hetong be o:  
 \mb he-t- ong ve o:  
 \ge 3PL-PL- also REL FILL  
 \gn 3PL-PL- juga REL FILL  
 \ftn mereka juga  
 \ft they also

\id MARGA\_exp 058  
 \tx hemakova  
 \mb he-t- makova  
 \ge 3PL-PL- enter  
 \gn 3PL-PL- masuk  
 \ftn mereka masuk  
 \ft they entered

\id MARGA\_exp 059  
 \tx Wihyawar  
 \mb Wihyawari  
 \ge PN  
 \gn PN  
 \ftn (marga) Wihyawari  
 \ft the Wihyawari (clan)

\id MARGA\_exp 060

\tx tato  
\mb tato  
\ge also  
\gn juga  
\ftn (dan) juga  
\ft (and) also

\id MARGA\_exp 061

\tx Tung vati  
\mb Tung va-i  
\ge PN NEU-SG  
\gn PN NEU-SG  
\ftn marga Tung itu  
\ft the Tung clan

\id MARGA\_exp 062

\tx Tung vaw tato  
\mb Tung vaw tato  
\ge PN NEU[NSG] also  
\gn PN NEU[NSG] juga  
\ftn marga Tung juga  
\ft the Tung clan also

\id MARGA\_exp 063

\tx Tung vaw hnia mara henda na  
\mb Tung vaw hnia mara he-t- ra na  
\ge PN NEU[NSG] 3PL that 3PL-PL- go LOC  
\gn PN NEU[NSG] 3PL itu 3PL-PL- pergi LOC

\tx Wonyapi  
\mb Wonyapi  
\ge PIN  
\gn PIN  
\ftn marga Tung berasal dari Woinap  
\ft the Tung clan came from Woinap

\id MARGA\_exp 064

\tx mana ya  
\mb mana ya  
\ge but yes  
\gn tapi ya  
\ftn tetapi ya  
\ft but yes

\id MARGA\_exp 065

\tx karna  
\mb karena  
\ge because  
\gn karena  
\ftn karena  
\ft because



\id MARGA\_exp 066  
\tx hentapum vati mara  
\mb he- tapu -m va-i mara  
\ge 3PL- grandfather -NSG[PSS.NSG] NEU-SG that  
\gn 3PL- kakek -NSG[PSS.NSG] NEU-SG itu  
\ftn moyang mereka itu  
\ft their ancestors

\id MARGA\_exp 067  
\tx vaving no  
\mb vaving o:  
\ge woman FILL  
\gn perempuan FILL  
\ftn perempuan  
\ft a woman

\id MARGA\_exp 068  
\tx e: Wihyawar tina  
\mb e: Wihyawari ti-i-na  
\ge FILL PN COP-3SG-3  
\gn FILL PN COP-3SG-3  
\ftn Wihyawari  
\ft Wihyawari

\id MARGA\_exp 069  
\tx payna  
\mb paina  
\ge so.that  
\gn jadi  
\ftn jadi  
\ft so

\id MARGA\_exp 070  
\tx hetonda ma <he->  
\mb he-t- ong - ra ma  
\ge 3PL-PL- also - go hither  
\gn 3PL-PL- juga - pergi hither  
\ftn mereka juga datang  
\ft they also came

\id MARGA\_exp 071  
\tx <hen-> hena na ninane rao  
\mb he-t- na na ning-na-ne rao  
\ge 3PL-PL- stay LOC here-LOC-PRX[NSG] until  
\gn 3PL-PL- tinggal LOC here-LOC-PRX[NSG] sampai  
\ftn mereka tinggal di sini sampai  
\ft they stayed here until

\id MARGA\_exp 072  
\tx hemakova kong Wihyawar  
\mb he-t- makova kong Wihyawari  
\ge 3PL-PL- enter COM PN  
\gn 3PL-PL- masuk COM PN  
\ftn mereka masuk keluarga Wihyawari  
\ft they were part of the Wihyawari clan

\id MARGA\_exp 073

\tx Mantundoy vaw hnia mara  
\mb Mantundoy vaw hnia mara  
\ge PN NEU[NSG] 3PL that  
\gn PN NEU[NSG] 3PL itu  
\ftn marga Mantundoy itu  
\ft the Mantundoy clan

\id MARGA\_exp 074

\tx hnia tato hetong makova kong o: Kendi  
\mb hnia tato he-t-ong makova kong o: Kendi  
\ge 3PL also 3PL-PL- also enter COM FILL Kendi  
\gn 3PL juga 3PL-PL- juga masuk COM FILL Kendi

\tx vaw hnia  
\mb vaw hnia  
\ge NEU[NSG] 3PL  
\gn NEU[NSG] 3PL  
\ftn begitu juga dengan mereka, mereka masuk keluarga Kendi  
\ft as for them, they were part of the Kendi clan

\id MARGA\_exp 075

\tx teri  
\mb interi  
\ge then  
\gn terus  
\ftn kemudian  
\ft then

\id MARGA\_exp 076

\tx Lawar ne hnia mara  
\mb Lawari ne hnia mara  
\ge Lawari PRX[NSG] 3PL that  
\gn Lawari PRX[NSG] 3PL itu  
\ftn marga Lawari itu  
\ft the Lawari clan

\id MARGA\_exp 077

\tx hnia tato  
\mb hnia tato  
\ge 3PL also  
\gn 3PL juga  
\ftn mereka juga  
\ft they also

\id MARGA\_exp 078

\tx hetong  
\mb he-t-ong  
\ge 3PL-PL- also  
\gn 3PL-PL- juga  
\ftn mereka juga  
\ft they also

\id MARGA\_exp 079

\tx henda ma o:  
\mb he-t- ra ma o:  
\ge 3PL-PL- go hither FILL  
\gn 3PL-PL- pergi hither FILL  
\ftn mereka datang  
\ft they came

\id MARGA\_exp 080

\tx hetong kong no  
\mb he-t- ong kong o:  
\ge 3PL-PL- also COM FILL  
\gn 3PL-PL- juga COM FILL  
\ftn mereka juga dengan  
\ft they were also with

\id MARGA\_exp 081

\tx Kirihio ne hnia  
\mb Kirihio ne hnia  
\ge PN PRX[NSG] 3PL  
\gn PN PRX[NSG] 3PL  
\ftn marga Kirihio  
\ft the Kirihio clan

\id MARGA\_exp 082

\tx ai ona mara rawing nei mara marga  
\mb ai ong -a mara rawing ne-i mara marga  
\ge FOC.PL make -OBJ.NSG then bay PRX-SG that clan  
\gn FOC.PL membuat -OBJ.NSG terus teluk PRX-SG itu marga

\tx baba vaw o:  
\mb baba vaw o:  
\ge besar NEU[NSG] FILL  
\gn big NEU[NSG] FILL  
\ftn ada sesuatu yang menyebabkan jadi (di) teluk ini marga-marga yang tua  
\ft there was something happened so (in) this bay, the big clans

\id MARGA\_exp 083

\tx marga pe o: ding  
\mb marga pe o: ding  
\ge clan EXIST[NSG] FILL five  
\gn marga ADA[NSG] FILL lima  
\ftn ada lima marga  
\ft there are five clans

\id MARGA\_exp 084

\tx trus marga o: veve  
\mb terus marga o: ve  
\ge then clan FILL REL  
\gn terus marga FILL REL  
\ftn terus marga yang  
\ft then the clans who

\id MARGA\_exp 085  
 \tx inte ve ra ma vaw hnia o:  
 \mb interi ve ra ma vaw hnia o:  
 \ge then REL go hither NEU[NSG] 3PL FILL  
 \gn terus REL pergi hiter NEU[NSG] 3PL FILL  
 \ftn (yang) baru datang (di Wooi), mereka ada  
 \ft (they, who) just came (to Wooi), are

\id MARGA\_exp 086  
 \tx marga pe o: muana  
 \mb marga pe o: muana  
 \ge clan EXIST[NSG] FILL four  
 \gn marga EXIST[NSG] FILL empat

\ftn ada empat marga  
 \ft there are four clans

\id MARGA\_exp 087  
 \tx e muana va pe ding  
 \mb e muana va pe ding  
 \ge INTJ four NEG EXIST[NSG] five  
 \gn INTJ empat NEG EXIST[NSG] lima  
 \ftn bukan empat tetapi lima  
 \ft not four but five

\id MARGA\_exp 088  
 \tx Row vaw hnia mara  
 \mb Row vaw hnia mara  
 \ge PN NEU[NSG] 3PL that  
 \gn PN NEU[NSG] 3PL itu  
 \ftn marga Row itu  
 \ft the Row clan

\id MARGA\_exp 089  
 \tx karna hnia vo Asua hnia na  
 \mb karena hnia vo Asua hnia na  
 \ge because 3PL FOC Ansus 3PL LOC  
 \gn karena 3PL FOC Ansus 3PL LOC  
 \ftn karena mereka berasal dari Ansus  
 \ft because they came from Ansus

\id MARGA\_exp 090  
 \tx mantapum mane nei  
 \mb ma- tapun -m ma-ne ne-i  
 \ge 1PL.EXC- grandfather -NSG[PSS.NSG] 1PL.EXC-POSS PRX-SG  
 \gn 1PL.EXC- kakek -NSG[PSS.NSG] 1PL.EXC-POSS PRX-SG

\tx mantapum o: Wermong  
 \mb ma- tapun -m o: Werimon  
 \ge 1PL.EXC- grandfather -NSG[PSS.NSG] FILL PN  
 \gn 1PL.EXC- kakek -NSG[PSS.NSG] FILL PN  
 \ftn kami punya moyang dari Werimon ini  
 \ft our ancestor from the Werimon clan

\id MARGA\_exp 091

\tx e:  
\mb e:  
\ge FILL  
\gn FILL

\id MARGA\_exp 092

\tx mantapum woria vati  
\mb ma- tapun -m woria va-i  
\ge 1PL.EXC- grandfather -NSG[PSS.NSG] first NEU-SG  
\gn 1PL.EXC- kakek -NSG[PSS.NSG] pertama NEU-SG

\tx mara vaving no Kendi tina  
\mb mara vaving o: Kendi ti-i-na  
\ge that woman FILL PN COP-3SG-3  
\gn itu perempuan FILL PN COP-3SG-3  
\ftn kami punya moyang perempuan dari marga Kendi  
\ft our female ancestor came from the Kendi clan

\id MARGA\_exp 093

\tx ahirnya hia o:  
\mb akhirnya ti- ha o:  
\ge finally 3SG-call.out FILL  
\gn akhirnya 3SG-panggil FILL  
\ftn akhirnya dia panggil  
\ft finally she called

\id MARGA\_exp 094

\tx neta vat ma huna rao  
\mb neta va-i ma hu-r- na rao  
\ge sibling NEU-SG hither 3DU-DU- stay until  
\gn saudara NEU-SG hither 3DU-DU- tinggal sampai  
\ftn saudaranya, mereka dua tinggal sampai  
\ft her sibling, they stayed together until

\id MARGA\_exp 095

\tx hetong makova o:  
\mb he-t- ong makova o:  
\ge 3PL-PL- also enter FILL  
\gn 3PL-PL- juga masuk FILL  
\ftn mereka juga masuk ke  
\ft they also became

\id MARGA\_exp 096

\tx ama na Wermong  
\mb ama na Werimon  
\ge 1PL.EXC LOC PN  
\gn 1PL.EXC LOC PN  
\ftn kami, (marga) Werimon  
\ft part of us, the Werimon clan

\id MARGA\_exp 097

\tx payna  
\mb paina  
\ge so  
\gn jadi  
\ftn jadi  
\ft so

\id MARGA\_exp 098

\tx ra vesampe  
\mb ra ve- sampe  
\ge tither VBLZ- until  
\gn tither VBLZ- sampai  
\ftn sampai  
\ft until

\id MARGA\_exp 099

\tx ninane mara  
\mb ning-na-ne mara  
\ge here-LOC-PRX[NSG] that  
\gn here-LOC-PRx[NSG] itu  
\ftn saat ini (di sini), itu  
\ft now (here)

\id MARGA\_exp 100

\tx a:  
\mb a:  
\ge INTJ  
\gn INTJ

\id MARGA\_exp 101

\tx <en> manduvava o:  
\mb ma-t- ruva o:  
\ge 1PL.EXC-PL- choose FILL  
\gn 1PL.EXC-PL- pilih FILL  
\ftn kami memilih beberapa (orang)  
\ft we selected some people

\id MARGA\_exp 102

\tx veve riung na o: keret ne hnia mara  
\mb ve riung na o: keret ne hnia mara  
\ge REL head LOC FILL clan PRX[NSG] 3PL that  
\gn REL kepala LOC FILL marga PRX[NSG] 3PL itu  
\ftn mereka yang menjadi kepala di marga-marga itu  
\ft and they become the head of their clans

\id MARGA\_exp 103

\tx keret Wihyawar mara  
\mb keret Wihyawari mara  
\ge clan PN that  
\gn marga PN itu  
\ftn marga Wihyawari itu  
\ft the Wihyawari clan is

\id MARGA\_exp 104

\tx Wihiyawari terus keret ve moma koru  
\mb Wihiyawari terus keret ve moma koru  
\ge PN then clan REL small two  
\gn PN terus marga REL kecil dua

\tx vaw  
\mb vaw  
\ge NEU[NSG]  
\gn NEU[NSG]  
\ftn Wihiyawari, terus dua marga kecil  
\ft Wihiyawari, then two small clans

\id MARGA\_exp 105

\tx Tung kong Kapitaraw mara  
\mb Tung kong Kapitaraw mara  
\ge PN COM PN that  
\gn PN COM PN itu  
\ftn Tung dengan Kapitaraw itu  
\ft the Tung and the Kapitaraw clan

\id MARGA\_exp 106

\tx veve riung ve hnia piti no Asaria  
\mb ve riung ve hnia pi-i o: Asaria  
\ge REL head for 3PL EXIST-SG FILL PN  
\gn REL kepala untuk 3PL EXIST-SG FILL PN  
\ftn yang menjadi kepala untuk mereka adalah Asaria  
\ft that become their head is Asaria

\id MARGA\_exp 107

\tx Kendi mara Yosep Lewi  
\mb Kendi mara Yosep Lewi  
\ge PN that PN PN  
\gn PN itu PN PN  
\ftn (untuk) Kendi (adalah) Yosep Lewi  
\ft for the Kendi clan, (it is) Yosep Lewi

\id MARGA\_exp 108

\tx untuk o:  
\mb untuk o:  
\ge for FILL  
\gn untuk FILL  
\ftn untuk  
\ft for

\id MARGA\_exp 109

\tx a:  
\mb a:  
\ge INTJ  
\gn INTJ

\id MARGA\_exp 110  
\tx Kendi hengkong no  
\mb Kendi he-t- kong o:  
\ge PN 3PL-PL- COM FILL  
\gn PN 3PL-PL- COM FILL  
\ftn marga Kendi dan  
\ft the Kendi clan and

\id MARGA\_exp 111  
\tx Mantundoy  
\mb Mantundoy  
\ge PN  
\gn PN  
\ftn marga Mantundoy  
\ft the Mantundoy clan

\id MARGA\_exp 112  
\tx Horota mara Yusuf  
\mb Horota mara Yusuf  
\ge PN that PN  
\gn PN itu PN  
\ftn (untuk) marga Horota, (adalah) Yusuf  
\ft for the Horota clan, (it is) Yusuf

\id MARGA\_exp 113  
\tx teri  
\mb interi  
\ge then  
\gn terus  
\ftn terus  
\ft then

\id MARGA\_exp 114  
\tx Wermong mara  
\mb Werimon mara  
\ge PN that  
\gn PN itu  
\ftn marga Werimon itu  
\ft the Werimon clan

\id MARGA\_exp 115  
\tx Enos  
\mb Enos  
\ge PN  
\gn PN  
\ftn (adalah) Enos  
\ft (it is) Enos

\id MARGA\_exp 116  
\tx Kirihio mara  
\mb Kirihio mara  
\ge PN that  
\gn PN itu  
\ftn marga Kirihio itu  
\ft the Kirihio clan



\id MARGA\_exp 117

\tx Elon  
\mb Elon  
\ge PN  
\gn PN  
\ftn (adalah) Elon  
\ft (it is) Elon

\id MARGA\_exp 118

\tx payna  
\mb paina  
\ge so  
\gn jadi  
\ftn jadi  
\ft so

\id MARGA\_exp 119

\tx vesampe o: henda hena ra,  
\mb ve- sampe o: he-t- ra he-t- na kira  
\ge VBLZ- until FILL 3PL-PL- go 3PL-PL- stay up.to  
\gn VBLZ- sampai FILL 3PL-PL- pergi 3PL-PL- tinggal sampai

\tx hena ra  
\mb he-t- na kira  
\ge 3PL-PL- stay up.to  
\gn 3PL-PL- tinggal sampai  
\ftn mereka tinggal terus sampai  
\ft they will live here until

\id MARGA\_exp 120

\tx mana trus na o: rawing nei  
\mb ma-t- na terus na o: rawing ne-i  
\ge 1PL.EXC-PL- stay then LOC FILL bay PRX-SG  
\gn 1PL.EXC-PL- tinggal terus LOC FILL teluk PRX-SG

\tx ninane  
\mb ning-na-ne  
\ge here-LOC-PRX[NSG]  
\gn sini-LOC-PRX[NSG]  
\ftn kami tinggal terus di teluk ini  
\ft we will continue living at this bay

\id MARGA\_exp 121

\tx payna topey yampa  
\mb paina topei yang-pa  
\ge so be.like there.2-DIST[NSG]  
\gn jadi seperti there.2-DIST[NSG]  
\ftn jadi seperti itu  
\ft so, it is like that

## TEXT 2: FROG STORY

\id frogstory2\_JK 001

\tx ariang katung nei o:  
 \mb ariang katung ne-i o:  
 \ge child little PRX-SG FILL  
 \gn anak kecil PRX-SG FILL  
 \ftn anak kecil ini  
 \ft this little child

\id frogstory2\_JK 002

\tx coung wona pei  
 \mb ti- oung wona pe-i  
 \ge 3SG- look.after dog DEI-SG  
 \gn 3SG- pelihara anjing DEI-SG  
 \ftn dia pelihara seekor anjing  
 \ft he toot care of a dog  
 \nt salah ucap bukan anjing tetapi katak

\id frogstory2\_JK 003

\tx kong o:  
 \mb kong o:  
 \ge COM FILL  
 \gn COM FILL  
 \ftn dengan  
 \ft with::

\id frogstory2\_JK 004

\tx coung wona nei mara  
 \mb ti- oung wona ne-i mara  
 \ge 3SG-look.after dog PRX-SG then  
 \gn 3SG-pelihara anjing PRX-SG terus  
  
 \tx re ra vew ma wona nei  
 \mb reho ra vew mara wona ne-i  
 \ge see tither down then dog PRX-SG  
 \gn lihat tither bawah terus anjing PRX-SG

\tx mey na toples nei raro  
 \mb ti- mahoy na toples ne-i raro  
 \ge 3SG-sit LOC jar PRX-SG inside  
 \gn 3SG-duduk LOC stoples PRX-SG dalam  
 \ftn dia pelihara anjing ini dan dia lihat ke bawah anjing ini tinggal di dalam toples  
 \ft he takes care of the dog then he looks down the dog (puts its head) in inside a jar

\id frogstory2\_JK 005

\tx via cena  
 \mb ti-va ti- ena  
 \ge 3SG-lie.on.back 3SG-sleep  
 \gn 3SG-baring 3SG-tidur  
 \ftn dia tertidur  
 \ft he is falling a sleep

\id frogstory2\_JK 006

\tx re ra vew reang mara  
\mb reho ra vew rea mara  
\ge see tither down again then  
\gn lihat tither bawah lagi terus  
\ftn dia lihat ke dalam lagi  
\ft (when) he saw inside

\id frogstory2\_JK 007

\tx kodok ve may na  
\mb kodok ve mahoy na  
\ge frog REL sit LOC  
\gn kodok REL duduk LOC  
\ftn katak yang duduk di  
\ft the frog which is sitting in  
\ng JK would be better with /mey/

\id frogstory2\_JK 008

\tx toples rarong nei piang meti  
\mb toples raro-ng ne-i piang ti- mati  
\ge jar inside-LIG PRX-SG already 3SG-go.out  
\gn stoples dalam -LIG PRX-SG sudah 3SG-keluar  
\ftn dalam toples sudah mau keluar  
\ft inside the jar wants to get out

\id frogstory2\_JK 009

\tx ae havaru nei meti kara to  
\mb ae havaru ne-i ti-mati kara to  
\ge leg one.half PRX-SG 3Ss-go.out via to  
\gn kaki sebelah PRX-SG 3SG-keluar melalui to

\tx ri mae havaru masih nya  
\mb ri mae havaru masih ti-na  
\ge OUTSIDE but one.half still 3SG-stay  
\gn LUAR tapi sebelah sedang 3SG-tinggal

\tx rarong ne ra  
\mb raro -ng ne mara  
\ge inside -LIG PRX[NSG] then  
\gn dalam -LIG PRX[NSG] terus  
\ftn kaki sebelah sudah di luar dan sebelahnya masih di dalamnya (toples)  
\ft one of its leg is already out but the other leg is still inside (the jar)

\id frogstory2\_JK 010

\tx pa re ra vew mara  
\mb payna reho ra vew mara  
\ge so.that see tither down then  
\gn jadi lihat tither bawah terus  
\ftn jadi dia lihat ke dalam itu  
\ft so he sees inside

\id frogstory2\_JK 011

\tx kodok nya na toples nei va to  
\mb kodok ti-na na toples ne-i va to  
\ge frog 3SG-stay LOC jar PRX-SG NEG PERF  
\gn kodok 3SG-tinggal LOC stoples PRX-SG NEG PERF

\tx mae  
 \mb mae  
 \ge but  
 \gn tapi  
 \ftn katak sudah tidak ada dalam toples lagi  
 \ft the frog is not inside the jar

\id frogstory2\_JK 012

\tx nye wona katung nei kiongti <xx>  
 \mb ne-i wona katung ne-i ti-kong=i  
 \ge POSS-3SG dog little PRX-SG 3SG-COM=3SG  
 \gn POSS-3SG anjing kecil PRX-SG 3SG-COM=3SG  
 \ftn dia bersama dengan anjing kecilnya  
 \ft he and his dog

\id frogstory2\_JK 013

\tx husayo kuy toples ma kekavi  
 \mb hu- hayo kuyra toples mae kekavi  
 \ge 3DU-look all jar but clean  
 \gn 3DU-lihat semua toples tapi bersih  
 \ftn mereka berdua bersama melihat ke dalam toples tapi toples itu sudah kosong  
 \ft both of them look together into the jar (and found that it) is already empty

\id frogstory2\_JK 014

\tx tewé hahe-rai ma cora  
 \mb ti- awe hahe-ra =i mara ti- ora  
 \ge 3SG-look.for search =OBJ.SG then 3SG- think  
 \gn 3SG-cari cari-cari =OBJ.SG terus 3SG- pikir

\tx ria eha ma  
 \mb ti-ra eha mara  
 \ge 3SG-go other then  
 \gn 3SG-pergi lain terus  
 \ftn dia (anak) mencari (katak itu) and berpikir (katak) itu sedang pergi  
 \ft he looks for (the frog) he thinks it has gone away

\id frogstory2\_JK 015

\tx re rang ma hniua ra viata na  
 \mb reho rang mara ti-hnua ra ti- vata na  
 \ge see leave then 3SG-come.in tither 3SG-stay LOC  
 \gn lihat pergi terus 3SG-masuk tither 3SG-tinggal LOC  
 \ftn dia lihat ke sana kalau dia (katak) ada masuk tinggal di  
 \ft he turns his eyes whether it is inside

\id frogstory2\_JK 016

\tx spatu veve tu na man rarong vati  
 \mb spatu ve tura na manu raro -ng va-i  
 \ge shoe REL stay LOC house inside -LIG NEU-SG  
 \gn sepatu REL tinggal LOC rumah dalam -LIG NEU-SG  
 \ftn sepatu yang tinggal di dalam rumah  
 \ft a shoe, which is in the house

\id frogstory2\_JK 017

\tx mae  
\mb mae  
\ge but  
\gn tapi  
\ftn kemudian  
\ft then

\id frogstory2\_JK 018

\tx wona katung nei  
\mb wona katung ne-i  
\ge dog little PRX-SG  
\gn anjing kecil PRX-SG  
\ftn anjing kecil ini  
\ft this little dog

\id frogstory2\_JK 019

\tx con cuva riukami nei ho  
\mb ti- ong ti-tuva riukami ne-i ho  
\ge 3SG- make 3SG-go.after head PRX-SG DIR  
\gn 3SG- membuat 3SG-menyusul kepala PRX-SG DIR

\tx toples rarong nei pa  
\mb toples raro -ng ne-i pa  
\ge jar inside -LIG PRX-SG DIST[NSG]  
\gn stoples dalam -LIG PRX-SG DIST[NSG]  
\ftn memasukkan kepalanya ke dalam toples  
\ft put its head into the jar

\id frogstory2\_JK 020

\tx mey re haherai  
\mb ti-mahoy reho hahera =i  
\ge 3SG-sit see search =OBJ.SG  
\gn 3SG-duduk lihat cari-cari =OBJ.SG  
\ftn (sambil) dia mencari (katak)  
\ft (while) looking for (the frog)

\id frogstory2\_JK 021

\tx cuvar cora mungkin kodok <me>  
\mb ti-tuva ti- ora mungkin kodok  
\ge 3SG-go.after 3SG- think maybe frog  
\gn 3SG-menyusul 3SG- pikir mungkin kodok

\tx mey a: o: toples rarong nei  
\mb ti-mahoy a: o: toples raro -ng ne-i  
\ge 3SG-sit FILL FILL jar inside -LIG PRX-SG  
\gn 3SG-duduk FILL anu stoples dalam -LIG PRX-SG

\tx pa  
\mb payna  
\ge so  
\gn jadi  
\ftn dia masukkan kepalanya, dia pikir mungkin dia (masih) duduk dalam toples  
\ft it put its head in (because) it thought that the frog might (still) be sitting inside the jar so

\id frogstory2\_JK 022

\tx teti ra=puy  
\mb ti-tati ra=puy  
\ge 3SG-peek thither=inside  
\gn 3SG-mengintip masuk.ke.dalam  
\ftn dia mengintip ke dalam  
\ft it is peeking inside

\id frogstory2\_JK 023

\tx teti haherai  
\mb ti-tati hahera =i  
\ge 3SG-peek search =OBJ.SG  
\gn 3SG-mengintip cari-cari =OBJ.SG  
\ftn dia mencari-carinya  
\ft it (keeps) searching

\id frogstory2\_JK 024

\tx cuva riukami vat vavaw  
\mb ti-tuva riukami va-i va-vaw  
\ge 3SG-go.after head NEU-SG NEU-RED[NSG]  
\gn 3SG-menyusul kepala NEU-SG NEU-RED[NSG]  
\ftn dia masukkan kepalanya itu  
\ft it put its head

\id frogstory2\_JK 025

\tx kiopa tutu  
\mb ti-kopa tutu  
\ge 3SG-jump with  
\gn 3SG-lompat dengan  
\ftn (sementara itu) dia lompat dengan  
\ft (then) it jumps with the jar (on its head)

\id frogstory2\_JK 026

\tx toples na wipey  
\mb toples na wipey  
\ge jar LOC above  
\gn stoples LOC atas  
\ftn toples dari atas  
\ft the jar is on (its head)

\id frogstory2\_JK 027

\tx kiopa ra biu na kakopa vat  
\mb ti-kopa ra ti-bu na kakopa va-i  
\ge 3SG-jump tither 3SG-toward LOC soil NEU-SG  
\gn 3SG-lompat tither 3SG-ke LOC tanah NEU-SG  
\ftn dia lompat ke atas tanah  
\ft it jumps to the ground

\id frogstory2\_JK 028

\tx hninyong katu ve ne wona nei  
\mb hninyong katung ve ne wona ne-i  
\ge child little REL POSS dog PRX-SG  
\gn anak kecil REL POSS anjing PRX-SG  
\ftn anak kecil yang punya anjing ini  
\ft the child who owns the dog,

\id frogstory2\_JK 029

\tx mey re tatuvar  
\mb ti-mahoy reho tatuva =i  
\ge 3SG-stay see go.after =OBJ.SG  
\gn 3SG-duduk lihat menyusul =OBJ.SG  
\ftn dia duduk perhatikannya  
\ft he is watching it (the dog)

\id frogstory2\_JK 030

\tx ariang katung nei  
\mb ariang katung ne-i  
\ge child little PRX-SG  
\gn anak kecil PRX-SG  
\ftn anak kecil ini  
\ft this little child

\id frogstory2\_JK 031

\tx	hane	ho	nye	wona	nei	pa	bia
\mb	hane	ho	ne-i	wona	ne-i	pa	ti-bia
\ge	love	DIR	POSS-3SG	dog	PRX-SG	DIST[NSG]	3SG-go.down
\gn	sayang	DIR	POSS-3SG	anjing	PRX-SG	DIST[NSG]	3SG-turun

\tx ra vew  
\mb ra vew  
\ge tither down  
\gn tither bawah  
\ftn dia sayang anjingnya jadi dia turun ke bawah  
\ft he loves his dog so he goes down

\id frogstory2\_JK 032

\tx tepur mae  
\mb ti-tapu =i mae  
\ge 3SG-hold.in.arms =OBJ.SG but  
\gn 3SG-peluk =OBJ.SG tapi  
\ftn dia peluk anjingnya dan  
\ft he hugs his dog and

\id frogstory2\_JK 033

\tx wona nei hoho  
\mb wona ne-i hoho  
\ge dog PRX-SG kiss  
\gn anjing PRX-SG cium  
\ftn anjingnya cium (sayang)  
\ft the dog kisses

\id frogstory2\_JK 034

\tx ve ounti vati  
\mb ve oung =i va-i  
\ge REL look.after =OBJ.SG NEU-SG  
\gn REL pelihara =OBJ.SG NEU-SG  
\ftn tuannya  
\ft its master

\id frogstory2\_JK 035

\tx ariang katung nei hnioha spatu ne  
\mb ariang katung ne-i ti-hoha spatu ne  
\ge child little PRX-SG 3SG-put.on shoe PRX[NSG]  
\gn anak kecil PRX-SG 3SG-masukkan sepatu PRX[NSG]

\tx mainte  
\mb mainteri  
\ge then  
\gn terus  
\ftn anak kecil itu pakai sepatu ini kemudian  
\ft the little child wears this shoes then

\id frogstory2\_JK 036

\tx nya ma hnia  
\mb ti-na mara ti-ha  
\ge 3SG-stay then 3SG-call.out  
\gn 3SG-tinggal terus 3SG-panggil  
\ftn dia tinggal panggil-panggil  
\ft he keeps calling

\id frogstory2\_JK 037

\tx tandina pi ve hniau  
\mb ta- rina pi ve ti-hau  
\ge 1PL.INC- not.know thing REL 3SG-call  
\gn 1PL.INC- tidak.tahu hal REL 3SG-panggil  
\ftn dia memanggil tanpa tujuan  
\ft he keeps calling with no reason  
\nt Lit. kita tidak tahu hal yang dia panggil/ we do not know what he is calling for

\id frogstory2\_JK 038

\tx hniau pampinoma  
\mb ti-hau pampinoma  
\ge 3SG-call just.like.that  
\gn 3SG-panggil begitu.saja  
\ftn dia memanggil tidak ada tujuan  
\ft he keeps calling with no reason

\id frogstory2\_JK 039

\tx mainte wona nei cong mey  
\mb mainteri wona ne-i ti- ong ti-mahoy  
\ge then dog PRX-SG 3SG- also 3SG-sit  
\gn terus anjing PRX-SG 3SG- juga 3SG-duduk

\tx heyo  
\mb ti-hayo  
\ge 3SG-look  
\gn 3SG-lihat  
\ftn kemudian anjing ini dia juga duduk lihat  
\ft then the dog is also sitting and looking



\id frogstory2\_JK 040

\tx heyo to wipey  
\mb ti-hayo to wipey  
\ge 3SG-look DIR above  
\gn 3SG-lihat DIR atas  
\ftn dia lihat ke atas  
\ft he is looking upward

\id frogstory2\_JK 041

\tx hunda humakova na wirarong rey  
\mb hu- ra hu- makova na wirarong rey  
\ge 3DU- go 3DU- enter LOC jungle land  
\gn 3DU- pergi 3DU- masuk LOC hutan.rimba darat  
\ftn (kemudian) mereka berdua pergi masuk di hutan  
\ft (then) both of them go to the forest

\id frogstory2\_JK 042

\tx hunda humakova na wirarong rey  
\mb hu- ra hu- makova na wirarong rey  
\ge 3DU- go 3DU- enter LOC jungle land  
\gn 3DU- pergi 3DU- masuk LOC hutan.rimba darat  
\ftn mereka dua pergi masuk di tengah hutan  
\ft they go to the middle of the forest

\id frogstory2\_JK 043

\tx hninyong katung nei teti to  
\mb hninyong katung ne-i ti-tati to  
\ge child little PRX-SG 3SG-peek DIR  
\gn anak kecil PRX-SG 3SG-mengintip DIR

\tx kambrey cora mungkin kodok nei  
\mb kambrey ti- ora mungkin kodok ne-i  
\ge hole 3SG- think maybe frog PRX-SG  
\gn lubang 3SG- pikir mungkin kodok PRX-SG  
\ftn anak kecil ini ngintip ke dalam lubang dia pikir mungkin katak ada  
\ft the little child is peeking into a hole to see whether the frog is there

\id frogstory2\_JK 044

\tx hniua kambrey pi mae  
\mb ti-hua kambrey pi mae  
\ge 3SG-enter hole DET.SG but  
\gn 3SG-masuk lubang DET.SG tapi  
\ftn ada masuk ke dalam lubang  
\ft went into the hole

\id frogstory2\_JK 045

\tx wona nei vo nya cona  
\mb wona ne-i vo ti-na ti- ong =a  
\ge dog PRX-SG FOC.NOM 3SG-stay 3SG- make =OBJ  
\gn anjing PRX-SG FOC.NOM 3SG-tinggal 3SG- membuat =OBJ

\tx hoa pe  
 \mb ho =a pe  
 \ge DIR =OBJ.NSG DET[NSG]  
 \gn DIR =OBJ.NSG DET[NSG]  
 \ftn anjing ini tinggal sibuk dengan  
 \ft (while) the dog is still busy with

\id frogstory2\_JK 046

\tx andiva nekrain  
 \mb andiva nekrain  
 \ge bee nest  
 \gn lebah sarang  
 \ftn sarang lebah  
 \ft a bee hive

\id frogstory2\_JK 047

\tx andiva nehninyay nei  
 \mb andiva nehninyay ne-i  
 \ge bee nest PRX-SG  
 \gn lebah sarang PRX-SG  
 \ftn sarang lebah ini  
 \ft this bee hive

\id frogstory2\_JK 048

\tx hninyong katung nei nya teti to <rap->  
 \mb hninyong katung ne-i ti-na ti-tati to  
 \ge child little PRX-SG 3SG-stay 3SG-peek DIR  
 \gn anak kecil PRX-SG 3SG-tinggal 3SG-mengintip DIR  
 \ftn anak kecil ini tinggal ngintip ke  
 \ft the little child still peeking into

\id frogstory2\_JK 049

\tx mey <teti to ra> teti rapuy mara  
 \mb ti-mahoy ti-tati ra=puy mara  
 \ge 3SG-sit 3SG-peek thither=inside then  
 \gn 3SG-duduk 3SG-mengintip masuk.ke.dalam terus  
 \ftn dia duduk ngintip ke dalam itu  
 \ft he is sitting and peeking into the hole

\id frogstory2\_JK 050

\tx kodok nei  
 \mb kodok ne-i  
 \ge frog PRX-SG  
 \gn kodok PRX-SG  
 \ftn katak ini  
 \ft this frog

\id frogstory2\_JK 051

\tx meti kara na kambrey nei bu  
 \mb ti-mati kara na kambrey ne-i bu  
 \ge 3SG-go.out via LOC hole PRX-SG toward  
 \gn 3SG-keluar melalui LOC lubang PRX-SG ke

\tx mari  
 \mb ma=ri  
 \ge hither=OUT  
 \gn hither=LUAR  
 \ftn keluar dari lubang ini  
 \ft comes out from the hole

\id frogstory2\_JK 052

\tx ma wona nei nya cona ho  
 \mb mae wona ne-i ti-na ti-ong =a ho  
 \ge but dog PRX-SG 3SG-stay 3SG- make =OBJ DIR  
 \gn tapi anjing PRX-SG 3SG-tinggal 3SG- membuat =OBJ DIR  
 \ftn tetapi anjing ini ada berusaha dengan  
 \ft but this dog is working with

\id frogstory2\_JK 053

\tx andiva nehnyay nei mae  
 \mb andiva nehnyay ne-i mae  
 \ge bee nest PRX-SG but  
 \gn lebah sarang PRX-SG tapi  
 \ftn sarang lebah ini dan  
 \ft the bee hive and

\id frogstory2\_JK 054

\tx co cow ho ay nei  
 \mb ti- o ti- ow ho ay ne-i  
 \ge 3SG- want 3SG- climb DIR tree PRX-SG  
 \gn 3SG- mau 3SG- panjat DIR pohon PRX-SG

\tx bu rancey  
 \mb bu ra=cey  
 \ge toward thither=UPWARD  
 \gn ke thither=UPWARD  
 \ftn dia mau manjat ke pohon ke atas  
 \ft it wants to climb up onto the tree (to get the hive)  
 \nt final element is more like [ra]

\id frogstory2\_JK 055

\tx wona nei nya hemopa  
 \mb wona ne-i ti-na ti-hamopa  
 \ge dog PRX-SG 3SG-stay 3SG-busy  
 \gn anjing PRX-SG 3SG-tinggal 3SG-sibuk

\tx ma <kiar> kerang <ay>  
 \mb mara ti-karang  
 \ge then 3SG-rake  
 \gn terus 3SG-garuk  
 \ftn anjing ini berusaha menggaruk  
 \ft this dog is busy raking

\id frogstory2\_JK 056

\tx ay ru nei ma co  
 \mb ay ru ne-i mara ti- o  
 \ge a piece of wood stem PRX-SG then 3SG- want  
 \gn sebatang kayu batang PRX-SG terus 3SG- ingin

\tx vemau cow ho  
 \mb ve- mau ti- ow ho  
 \ge VBLZ- want 3SG- climb DIR  
 \gn VBLZ- mau 3SG- panjat DIR  
 \ftn batang kayu ini dia mau manjat ke  
 \ft the stem he wants to climb on

\id frogstory2\_JK 057

\tx pi vati inte  
 \mb pi va-i interi  
 \ge thing NEU-SG then  
 \gn sesuatu NEU-SG terus  
 \ftn pohon kemudian  
 \ft the tree then

\id frogstory2\_JK 058

\tx andiva nehninyay tekutu  
 \mb andiva nehninyay ti-takutu  
 \ge bee nest 3SG-broken.off  
 \gn lebah sarang 3SG-putus  
 \ftn sarang lebah putus  
 \ft the bee hive falls down

\id frogstory2\_JK 059

\tx ca na wipey ma vew  
 \mb ti-tawa na wipey ma vew  
 \ge 3SG-fall LOC above hither down  
 \gn 3SG-jatuh LOC atas hither bawah  
 \ftn jatuh dari atas ke bawah  
 \ft falls from up (the tree) down to the ground

\id frogstory2\_JK 060

\tx mae kodok meti ma via na  
 \mb mae kodok ti- mati ma ti-va na  
 \ge but frog 3SG-go.out hither 3SG-stay LOC  
 \gn tapi kodok 3SG-keluar hither 3SG-tinggal LOC

\tx kambrey via heyori  
 \mb kambrey ti- va ti-hayo =i  
 \ge hole 3SG-stay 3SG-look =OBJ.SG  
 \gn lubang 3SG-tinggal 3SG-lihat =OBJ.SG  
 \ftn tetapi katak ini keluar dari lubang dan tinggal nonton dia (anjing)  
 \ft but the frog comes out and looks at it (the dog)

\id frogstory2\_JK 061

\tx hninyong katung nei piovar ra  
 \mb hninyong katung ne-i ti-pova ra  
 \ge child little PRX-SG 3SG-climb.up thither  
 \gn anak kecil PRX-SG 3SG-naik thither  
 \ftn anak kecil ini memanjat  
 \ft this little kid climbs

\id frogstory2\_JK 062

\tx cow ho ay  
\mb ti- ow ho ay  
\ge 3SG- climb DIR tree  
\gn 3SG- panjat DIR pohon  
\ftn memanjat pohon  
\ft climbs the tree

\id frogstory2\_JK 063

\tx cow ho ay nei ra  
\mb ti- ow ho ay ne-i ra  
\ge 3SG- climb DIR tree PRX-SG thither  
\gn 3SG- panjat DIR pohon PRX-SG thither  
\ftn dia manjat ke atas pohon  
\ft he climbs up to the tree

\id frogstory2\_JK 064

\tx mey na ay peiti  
\mb ti- mahoy na ay pei-i  
\ge 3SG-sit LOC tree UP=SG  
\gn 3SG-duduk LOC pohon UP=SG  
\ftn dia duduk di atas pohon  
\ft he sits on the tree

\id frogstory2\_JK 065

\tx mainte mey teti to kambrey puiti  
\mb mainteri ti-mahoy ti-tati to kambrey puiti  
\ge then 3SG-sit 3SG-peek DIR hole inside  
\gn terus 3SG-duduk 3SG-mengintip DIR lubang dalam  
\ftn kemudian dia ngintip ke dalam lubang  
\ft then he is peeking into a hole

\id frogstory2\_JK 066

\tx teti to kambrey puiti rapuy vavaw  
\mb ti-tati to kambrey puiti ra=puy va-vaw  
\ge 3SG-peek DIR hole inside thither=inside NEU-RED[NSG]  
\gn 3SG-mengintip DIR lubang dalam masuk.ke.dalam NEU-RED[NSG]  
\ftn dia ngintip ke dalam lubang itu kemudian  
\ft he is peeking into the hole then

\id frogstory2\_JK 067

\tx aya nei meti kara na kambrey vat ma  
\mb aya ne-i ti- mati kara na kambrey va-i ma  
\ge bird PRX-SG 3SG-go.out via LOC hole NEU-SG then  
\gn burung PRX-SG 3SG-keluar melalui LOC lubang NEU-SG terus  
\ftn burung ini keluar dari lubang itu  
\ft this bird comes out from the hole

\id frogstory2\_JK 068

\tx hninyong katung tentuma pa cawa  
\mb hninyong katung ti-tantuma payna ti- tawa  
\ge child little 3SG-shock so.that 3SG- fall  
\gn anak kecil 3SG-kaget sehingga 3SG- jatuh  
\ftn anak kecil ini kaget dan dia jatuh  
\ft this little child is scared and then he falls down

\id frogstory2\_JK 069

\tx cara via na umbaw  
\mb ti- tawa=ra ti-va na umbaw  
\ge 3SG-fall=thither 3SG-stay LOC down  
\gn 3SG-jatuh=thither 3SG-tinggal LOC bawah  
\ftn dia jatuh ke bawah  
\ft he falls down (to the ground)

\id frogstory2\_JK 070

\tx andiva ne hembara ho  
\mb andiva ne he- vara ho  
\ge bee PRX[NSG] 3PL- attack DIR  
\gn lebah PRX[NSG] 3PL- menyerang DIR  
\ftn lebah-lebah ini menyerang  
\ft (then) the bees attack

\id frogstory2\_JK 071

\tx hemati mara  
\mb he- mati mara  
\ge 3PL-go.out then  
\gn 3PL-keluar terus  
\ftn mereka (lebah) keluar dan  
\ft they come out and

\id frogstory2\_JK 072

\tx hembara ho wona nei  
\mb he- vara ho wona ne-i  
\ge 3PL- attack DIR dog PRX-SG  
\gn 3PL- menyerang DIR anjing PRX-SG  
\ftn hajar anjing ini  
\ft attack this dog

\id frogstory2\_JK 073

\tx wona nei tenana ma tepay  
\mb wona ne-i ti- anana mara ti- apay  
\ge dog PRX.SG 3SG- shout then 3SG- run  
\gn anjing PRX.SG 3SG- berteriak terus 3SG- lari  
\ftn dan anjing ini lari sambil berteriak  
\ft and the dog is running away screaming

\id frogstory2\_JK 074

\tx mae aya piti  
\mb mae aya pi=i  
\ge but bird EXIST=SG  
\gn tapi burung EXIST=SG  
\ftn tetapi burung  
\ft but the bird

\id frogstory2\_JK 075

\tx masih vara ho  
\mb masih vara ho  
\ge still attack DIR  
\gn sedang menyerang DIR  
\ftn masih menyerang  
\ft is attacking

\id frogstory2\_JK 076

\tx hninyong katum pi ma  
\mb hninyong katung pi mara  
\ge child little DET.SG then  
\gn anak kecil DET.SG terus  
\ftn anak kecil ini  
\ft the little child

\id frogstory2\_JK 077

\tx miung ta ti hninyong katum pi  
\mb ti- mung ta ti hninyong katung pi  
\ge 3SG-attack ?? ?.SG child little DEI  
\gn 3SG-menyerang ?? ?.SG anak kecil DEI  
\ftn dia hajar anak kecil  
\ft it attacks the little child

\id frogstory2\_JK 078

\tx hninyong katum pi cow ra  
\mb hninyong katung pi ti- ow ra  
\ge child little DEI 3SG- climb thither  
\gn anak kecil DEI 3SG- panjat thither  
\ftn anak kecil ada memanjat  
\ft the child is climbing

\id frogstory2\_JK 079

\tx mey na kami peiti mainte  
\mb ti- mahoy na kami pei-i mainteri  
\ge 3SG-sit LOC stone UP-SG then  
\gn 3SG-duduk LOC batu UP-SG terus  
  
\tx mey ma hnia haheha nye  
\mb ti-mahoy mara ti-ha haheha ne-i  
\ge 3SG-stay then 3SG-call.out search POSS-3SG  
\gn 3SG-duduk terus 3SG-panggil cari-cari POSS-3SG

\tx wona  
\mb wona  
\ge dog  
\gn anjing  
\ftn duduk di atas batu kemudian dia panggil-panggil anjingnya  
\ft (and) sitting on a rock and calls his dog

\id frogstory2\_JK 080

\tx ma wona mey rurang  
\mb mae wona ti- mahoy rurang  
\ge but dog 3SG-sit be.in.parallel.with  
\gn tapi anjing 3SG-duduk menyampingi  
\ftn tetapi anjing ada duduk di sampingnya  
\ft but the dog is (actually) sitting beside (the stone)

\id frogstory2\_JK 081

\tx mey na kami ru vat  
\mb ti- mahoy na kami ru va-i  
\ge 3SG-sit LOC stone stem DET-SG  
\gn 3SG-duduk LOC batu batang DET-SG  
\ftn dia duduk di pingiran batu itu  
\ft he sits at the edge of the stone

\id frogstory2\_JK 082

\tx hninyong katung vetaw va pa  
\mb hninyong katung ve- taw va pa  
\ge child little VBLZ- know NEG FOC  
\gn anak kecil VBLZ- tahu NEG FOC

\tx mey ma hnia haherai  
\mb ti-mahoy mara ti- ha hahera -i  
\ge 3SG-sit then 3SG-call.out search -OBJ.SG  
\gn 3SG-duduk terus 3SG-panggil cari-cari -OBJ.SG  
\ftn anak kecil itu tidak tau jadi dia panggil-panggilnya (anjing)  
\ft the little child does not know so he keeps calling it (the dog)  
\nt sequence /pa mey ma/ not clear in recording

\id frogstory2\_JK 083

\tx hninyong katung nei cow rancey  
\mb hninyong katung ne-i ti- ow ra=cey  
\ge child little PRX-SG 3SG- climb thither=upward  
\gn anak kecil PRX-SG 3SG- panjat thither=upward

\tx pa o:  
\mb pa o:  
\ge DIST[NSG] FILL  
\gn DIST[NSG] FILL  
\ftn anak kecil ini manjat ke atas jadi  
\ft the little child climbs up so

\id frogstory2\_JK 084

\tx viata na  
\mb ti- vata na  
\ge 3SG-lie.down LOC  
\gn 3SG-berbaring LOC  
\ftn dia berbaring di  
\ft he lies on

\id frogstory2\_JK 085

\tx ay arawang ma viata  
\mb ay arawang mara ti- vata  
\ge tree branch then 3SG-lie.down  
\gn pohon dahan terus 3SG-berbaring  
\ftn dahan kayu dan dia berbaring  
\ft a branch and he lies on

\id frogstory2\_JK 086

\tx heyo to umbaw ra  
\mb ti- hayo to umbaw ra  
\ge 3SG-look DIR down tither  
\gn 3SG-lihat DIR bawah tither  
\ftn dia lihat ke bawah  
\ft he looks down



\id frogstory2\_JK 087

\tx woroy katu ma  
\mb woroy katung mara  
\ge far little then  
\gn jauh kecil terus  
\ftn beberapa saat kemudian  
\ft few seconds later  
\nq unclear structure

\id frogstory2\_JK 088

\tx rusa nei tepay ma  
\mb rusa ne-i ti- apay ma  
\ge deer PRX-SG 3SG- run hither  
\gn rusa PRX-SG 3SG- lari hither  
\ftn rusa ini lari  
\ft this deer is running

\id frogstory2\_JK 089

\tx hninyong katung nei cow ho i ma  
\mb hninyong katung ne-i ti- ow ho i mara  
\ge child little PRX-SG 3SG- climb DIR 3SG then  
\gn anak kecil PRX-SG 3SG- naik DIR 3SG terus  
\ftn anak kecil ini sudah naik di atasnya  
\ft the little child has climbed onto it

\id frogstory2\_JK 090

\tx cow ta ra via na rusa nei  
\mb ti- ow ta ra ti-va na rusa ne-i  
\ge 3SG- climb ?? thither 3SG-stay LOC deer PRX-SG  
\gn 3SG- naik ?? thither 3SG-tinggal LOC rusa PRX-SG

\tx riukami nei ma  
\mb riukami ne-i mara  
\ge head PRX-SG then  
\gn kepala PRX-SG terus  
\ftn dia naik di atas kepalanya rusa  
\ft he climbed up on the deer's head

\id frogstory2\_JK 091

\tx rusa tepay tutur  
\mb rusa ti- apay tutu=i  
\ge deer 3SG- run with=3SG  
\gn rusa 3SG- lari dengan=3SG  
\ftn dia terbawa oleh rusa  
\ft he is taken away by the deer

\id frogstory2\_JK 092

\tx rusa nei kio hninyong katung nei  
\mb rusa ne-i ti-ko hninyong katung ne-i  
\ge deer PRX-SG 3SG-carry child little PRX-SG  
\gn rusa PRX-SG 3SG-bawa anak kecil PRX-SG

\tx hurapay ra  
 \mb hu- apay ra  
 \ge 3DU- run thither  
 \gn 3DU- lari thither  
 \ftn rusa ini bawa anak kecil dan mereka dua lari sampai  
 \ft the deer carries the little child, both of them run until

\id frogstory2\_JK 093

\tx kapape vati  
 \mb kapape va-i  
 \ge slope NEU-SG  
 \gn tebing NEU-SG  
 \ftn tebing itu  
 \ft (they arrive on) a slope

\id frogstory2\_JK 094

\tx kiaytetar ma hninyong katung  
 \mb ti-kayteta =i mara hninyong katung  
 \ge 3SG-throw.off =OBJ.SG then child little  
 \gn 3SG-melepaskan =OBJ.SG terus anak kecil

\tx cawa ma umbaw ra  
 \mb ti-tawa mae umbaw ra  
 \ge 3SG-fall but down thither  
 \gn 3SG-jatuh tapi bawah thither  
 \ftn dia (rusa) buang anak kecil ini jatuh ke bawah  
 \ft (then) it throws him off and the child falls down

\id frogstory2\_JK 095

\tx huntawa ra  
 \mb hu- tawa ra  
 \ge 3DU- fall thither  
 \gn 3DU- jatuh thither  
 \ftn mereka dua jatuh  
 \ft both of them fall

\id frogstory2\_JK 096

\tx hninyong katung nei cara <biu->  
 \mb hninyong katung ne-i ti-tawa=ra  
 \ge child little PRX-SG 3SG-fall=thither  
 \gn anak kecil PRX-SG 3SG-jatuh=thither  
 \ftn anak kecil ini jatuh  
 \ft the little child falls

\id frogstory2\_JK 097

\tx biu na umbaw  
 \mb ti-bu na umbaw  
 \ge 3SG-toward LOC down  
 \gn 3SG-ke LOC bawah  
 \ftn sampai di bawah  
 \ft downward

\id frogstory2\_JK 098

\tx huntawa rurang ay ru vaw ey  
\mb hu- tawa rurang ay ru vaw ey  
\ge 3DU- fall be.in.parallel.with a piece of wood stem NEU[NSG] one  
\gn 3DU- jatuh menyampingi sebatang kayu batang NEU[NSG] satu  
\ftn mereka dua jatuh di samping batang kayu  
\ft both of them fall beside a stem

\id frogstory2\_JK 099

\tx na kapape vat ma huntawa vahay  
\mb na kapape va-i mara hu- tawa vahay  
\ge LOC slope DET-SG then 3DU- fall directly  
\gn LOC tebing DET-SG terus 3DU- jatuh langsung

\tx ra  
\mb ra  
\ge thither  
\gn thither  
\ftn dari tebing itu mereka dua jatuh terus sampai  
\ft from that slope both of them fall down until

\id frogstory2\_JK 100

\tx huntawa ra langsung humbu na maria  
\mb hu- tawa ra langsung hu- bu na maria  
\ge 3DU- fall thither directly 3DU-toward LOC river  
\gn 3 DU- jatuh thither langsung 3DU-toward LOC sungai

\tx vati  
\mb va-i  
\ge DET-SG  
\gn DET-SG  
\ftn mereka dua jatuh sampai tiba di kali  
\ft they fall into a river

\id frogstory2\_JK 101

\tx hninyong katung nei herava  
\mb hninyong katung ne-i ti-harava  
\ge child little PRX-SG 3SG-lift.up  
\gn anak kecil PRX-SG 3SG-angkat  
\ftn anak kecil ini angkat  
\ft this little child carries

\id frogstory2\_JK 102

\tx wona nei ma con ma mey  
\mb wona ne-i mara ti- ong ma ti-mahoy  
\ge dog PRX-SG then 3SG- put hither 3SG-sit  
\gn anjing PRX-SG terus 3SG- menaruh hither 3SG-duduk

\tx na riukami nei mae  
\mb na riukami ne-i mae  
\ge LOC head PRX-SG but  
\gn LOC kepala PRX-SG tapi  
\ftn anjingnya dia taruh di atas kepalanya dan  
\ft his dog, puts it on his head and

\id frogstory2\_JK 103

\tx hnioy tutur  
\mb ti-hoy tutu =i  
\ge 3SG-swim with =OBJ.SG  
\gn 3SG-berenang dengan =OBJ.SG  
\ftn dia berenang bersamanya  
\ft he swims with it

\id frogstory2\_JK 104

\tx husoy rarey payna hninyong katung  
\mb hu- hoy rarey payna hninyong katung  
\ge 3DU- swim landwards so child little  
\gn 3DU- berenang DIR.darat jadi anak kecil

\tx nei  
\mb ne-i  
\ge PRX-SG  
\gn PRX-SG  
\ftn mereka dua berenang ke darat jadi anak kecil ini  
\ft both of them swim toward the bank of the river so this little child

\id frogstory2\_JK 105

\tx kevio ve wona nei ma  
\mb ti-kavio ve wona ne-i mara  
\ge 3SG-talk for dog PRX-SG then  
\gn 3SG-bicara untuk anjing PRX-SG terus

\tx co ayrauki  
\mb ti- oyo bu-ayraki  
\ge 3SG- say 2SG-be.silent  
\gn 3SG- bilang 2SG-diam  
\ftn dia bicara sama anjingnya dia bilang kau diam  
\ft he says to his dog "be silent"

\id frogstory2\_JK 106

\tx hunda humpova haru kutu o:  
\mb hu- ra hu- pova haru kutu o:  
\ge 3DU- go 3DU- climb.up 3DU cut.off FILL  
\gn 3DU- pergi 3DU- naik 3DU putus FILL  
\ftn mereka dua pergi menyeberang lewat  
\ft both of them cross over through  
\ng has to include both /haru/ and /kutu/ for the meaning of crossing

\id frogstory2\_JK 107

\tx ay rabiang vaw ey wona pempong  
\mb ay rabiang vaw ei wona ti-pampong  
\ge tree middle DET[NSG] one dog 3SG-beginning  
\gn kayu pertengahan DET[NSG] satu anjing 3SG-awal

\tx haru  
 \mb haru  
 \ge 3DU  
 \gn 3DU  
 \ftn satu batang kayu, anjing di bagian depan mereka dua  
 \ft a stem and the dog (walks) at the front  
 \ng \*harung not possible in this context  
 \nt /rabiang/ is used here to indicate that the stem is not complete, both the root and the top part are missing so what we see in the picture is the middle part of a tree stem

\id frogstory2\_JK 108

\tx hninyong katung via tuva wona nei mae  
 \mb hninyong katung ti-va tuva wona ne-i mae  
 \ge child little 3SG-stay go.after dog PRX-SG but  
 \gn anak kecil 3SG-tinggal menyusul anjing PRX-SG tapi  
 \ftn anak kecil menyusul anjingnya  
 \ft the little child follows the dog,

\id frogstory2\_JK 109

\tx hurow kutu ay rabiang  
 \mb hu- ow kutu ai rabiang  
 \ge 3DU- climb cut.off tree middle  
 \gn 3DU- panjat putus pohon pertengahan  
 \ftn mereka dua memanjat lewat batang kayu  
 \ft both of them climb through a stem

\id frogstory2\_JK 110

\tx huro hurow kutu ay  
 \mb hu- o hu- ow kutu ai  
 \ge 3DU- want 3DU- climb cut.off a piece of wood  
 \gn 3DU- mau 3DU- panjat putus sebatang kayu

\tx hundera vew ma kodok  
 \mb hu- reho= ra vew mae kodok  
 \ge 3DU- see= thither down but frog  
 \gn 3DU- lihat=thither bawah tapi kodok  
 \ftn mereka dua mau manjat lewat kayu mereka dua lihat ke bawah (ada) katak  
 \ft they are about to climb across a stem, (but when) they look down (they see) the frog

\id frogstory2\_JK 111

\tx antung vaw ey kong  
 \mb antu -ng vaw ei kong  
 \ge child -LIG NEU[NSG] one and  
 \gn anak -LIG NEU[NSG] satu dan  
 \ftn satu yang kecil dan  
 \ft a small one and

\id frogstory2\_JK 112

\tx baba vaw ey humahoy na  
 \mb baba vaw ei hu- mahoy na  
 \ge big NEU[NSG] one 3DU- stay LOC  
 \gn besar NEU[NSG] satu 3DU- duduk LOC  
 \ftn ada satu yang besar mereka dua duduk di  
 \ft a big one, both of them sit

\id frogstory2\_JK 113

\tx	ay		vat		horare
\mb	ai		va-i		horareng
\ge	a piece of wood		DET-SG		beside
\gn	sebatang kayu		DET-SG		samping
\ftn	samping kayu				
\ft	beside the wood				

\id frogstory2\_JK 114

\tx	humpova	haru	ra	humay	na
\mb	hu- pova	haru	kira	hu- mahoy	na
\ge	3DU- climb.up	3DU	up.to	3DU- sit	LOC
\gn	3DU- naik	3DU	sampai	3DU- duduk	LOC

\tx	ay		peiti	husayo	ra
\mb	ai		pei-i	hu- hayo	ra
\ge	a piece of wood		UP-SG	3DU- look	thither
\gn	sebatang kayu		arah.atas	3DU- lihat	thither

\tx	vew	ma			
\mb	vew	mae			
\ge	down	but			
\gn	bawah	tapi			
\ftn	mereka dua memanjat dan duduk di atas kayu, mereka dua lihat ke bawah itu				
\ft	both of them climb and sit on the wood, they look down				

\id frogstory2\_JK 115

\tx	humbekoru	rea	va	mae
\mb	hu- ve- koru	rea	va	mae
\ge	3DU- VBLZ- two	again	NEG	but
\gn	3DU- VBLZ- dua	lagi	NEG	tapi
\ftn	bukan dua ekor lagi tetapi			
\ft	they are not only two (frogs) but			

\id frogstory2\_JK 116

\tx	kodok	ne	hempaw	mantaung
\mb	kodok	ne	he- paw	mantaung
\ge	frog	PRX[NSG]	3PL- many	EMPH
\gn	kodok	PRX[NSG]	3PL- banyak	EMPH
\ftn	katak-katak ini banyak			
\ft	the frogs are many			

\id frogstory2\_JK 117

\tx	hninyong	katung	nei	teka	ra	vew
\mb	hninyong	katung	ne-i	ti- aka	ra	vew
\ge	child	little	PRX-SG	3SG- extend.hand	thither	down
\gn	anak	kecil	PRX-SG	3SG- ulurkan.tangan	thither	bawah
\ftn	anak kecil ini dia mengulurkan tangan					
\ft	the little child gives out his hand					

\id frogstory2\_JK 118

\tx	pa	herava
\mb	payna	ti-harava
\ge	so	3SG-lift.up
\gn	jadi	3SG-angkat
\ftn	dan dia mengangkat	
\ft	and he lifts	

\id frogstory2\_JK 119

\tx kodok ne ey ma  
\mb kodok ne ei mara  
\ge frog PRX[NSG] one then  
\gn kodok PRX[NSG] satu terus  
\ftn satu katak dan  
\ft one frog and

\id frogstory2\_JK 120

\tx hniow  
\mb ti- how  
\ge 3SG-throw  
\gn 3SG-lempar  
\ftn dia lempar  
\ft he throws

\id frogstory2\_JK 121

\tx kodok vaw hetow ho  
\mb kodok vaw he- ow ho  
\ge frog NEU[NSG] 3PL- climb DIR  
\gn kodok NEU[NSG] 3PL- panjat DIR  
\ftn katak-katak itu mereka memanjat di  
\ft (then) the frogs climb

\id frogstory2\_JK 122

\tx ay vat rancey  
\mb ai va-i ra=cey  
\ge a piece of wood NEU-SG thither=UPWARD  
\gn sebatang kayu NEU-SG thither=UPWARD  
\ftn kayu itu ke atas  
\ft up the wood

\id frogstory2\_JK 123

\tx pa o: hemay henje hnia na  
\mb payna o: he- mahoy he- rie hnia na  
\ge so FILL 3PL- sit 3PL- in.a.row 3PL LOC  
\gn jadi anu 3PL- duduk 3PL- berjejer 3PL LOC

\tx ay rabong vat  
\mb ai rabo -ng va-i  
\ge tree stem -LIG DET-SG  
\gn pohon batang -LIG DET-SG  
\ftn jadi mereka duduk berjejeran di atas kayu itu  
\ft so they sit in row on the wood

\id frogstory2\_JK 124

\tx wow

\id frogstory2\_JK 125

\tx terima kasih banyak  
\ft thank you very much